

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IN ATHENS.

(The following interesting account of the Archbishop's visit to Athens is taken from Ekklesia of April 20).

LAST Wednesday morning the Archbishop of Athens and Primate of the Anglican Church arrived in Athens, having telegraphed by wireless from the sea that he desired to visit His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens at 3 p.m. As he was travelling unofficially he did not wish there to be a reception at the Piræus. Before his departure from the Legation, His Grace the Metropolitan of Trebizond went to greet him on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarch, and spoke as follows:—"Your Grace, His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Basil III., has commanded me to express the joy of the Greek Church of Christ and her blessings on the joyous occasion of Your Grace's visit in person to the Orthodox East, which she regards as a pledge of a closer drawing together of the Orthodox and Anglican Churches. The Church of Constantinople, the chief of all the Orthodox Churches, prays that the Lord God may strengthen Your Grace in your lofty task for the good of the Anglican Church of which Your Grace is the glory and pride."

The English Archbishop replied, returning thanks and declaring that the glorious Church of Constantinople enjoyed the warm sympathies of the Anglican Church. At the appointed hour the English Archbishop arrived at the Cathedral, to the joyous sound of the ringing of the bells, and was received by His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens, who was vested in *mandyas* and carried his pastoral staff. When they had saluted one another, he was led into the centre of the Church where two seats had been placed. The Church was crowded with a devout congregation. All the Holy Synod and all the bishops staying in Athens, to the number of about twenty in all, wearing *enkolpion* and *epanokamilavkon*, had taken up their position in front of the holy Sanctuary. Behind them stood a great number of priests and deacons and from the doors of the church reaching to the centre, the students of the Rizareion School were drawn up in two rows, one on either side. The priest of the holy church and two deacons were waiting vested and the holy service, which was carried out in perfect order, was begun just as the two Archbishops reached the centre of the church. The hymn "To the Defender" and the Doxology were sung most beautifully

by the choir, and supplication was made for "the good estate of the Holy Churches of God and the union of them all." The English Archbishop, deeply moved, followed the litany with deep devotion making the sign of the cross. At the end of the litany His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens led the English Archbishop to the tomb of Gregory V., before which he bowed with great reverence, recalling with admiration the history of the Patriarch's martyrdom and the details of the preservation of his sacred body.

In the meantime their Reverences the bishops and also the rest of the clergy and the students of the Rizareion had gone to the Archbishop's Palace, while the crowd covered the square in front of the holy church and ranged themselves along the road leading to the Archbishop's Palace. The two Archbishops proceeded to the Palace in a car. The English Archbishop expressed his gratitude and his deep emotion at the magnificent reception which had been accorded him and expressed his surprise at the respect, the cordiality and the warm sympathy which the Greek people had manifested towards him. From the road up to the Great Hall of the Archbishop's Palace the students of the Rizareion and the clergy were drawn up in order, greeting the distinguished visitor respectfully as he passed along.

In the Hall His Beatitude the Archbishop presented their Right Reverends the Bishops to the English Archbishop, after which he addressed him as follows :—"Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Great is the joy which we feel to-day in receiving you, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Anglican Church. Your visit, as a wholly exceptional event, will certainly signify an important stage in the relations between our Churches. The Church of Greece in the presence of Your Grace recalls with emotion the fact that it was from Athens in the seventh century—where he was labouring as a teacher—that the great Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, who became the reformer of the Anglican church, started forth, and that it was from Athens about the middle of the last century that the signal was given for the beginning of new friendly relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches by the mission to England of Alexander Lycurgus, the Bishop of Syros. A short time ago we prayed to God at your visit for the good estate of the holy Churches of God and the union of them all. This prayer is offered up daily in our Churches and finds a deep echo in the hearts of the Orthodox. Be assured that at this moment you find yourself in the midst of sincere friends and brothers. We receive you as our own, knowing the love you cherish towards the Orthodox Church.

Giving thanks for your visit we pray the Lord God to restore fully your precious health and to bless and strengthen you as you continue to shepherd the Anglican Church. Welcome !"

In reply to the address of the Archbishop of Athens, the Primate of the Anglican Church expressed his sorrow that he could not reply in the glorious Greek tongue and that his visit could not be an official one inasmuch as his journey bore an entirely private character. "I desire to assure you," he said "that I have rarely felt an emotion equal to that of to-day at your most friendly reception. I think that although I have frequently in the past come into contact with the Orthodox Churches, this is the first time I have found myself in the presence of so many Orthodox clergy. Rest assured that your reception to-day and the beautiful music which I have heard in the cathedral will remain in my memory as something never to be forgotten. Although my visit bears a private character, I am fortunate in being afforded an opportunity of visiting the city of Athens. I am less fortunate, however, as regards the carrying out of the original plan of my journey, inasmuch as by reason of very important affairs, I shall not be able to visit the Church of Jerusalem. But I take the opportunity of contradicting all the inaccuracies which have appeared in the Press, namely that other reasons have contributed to frustrate my visit to Jerusalem. It is a question of time; otherwise my going there was definitely settled. I return to London to prepare for the great Synod of the Anglican Church at which 300 Bishops will be present and I shall be happy if the questions which relate to an understanding between our two Churches are seriously discussed at it. I am glad that an opportunity has been afforded me of holding intercourse with the Archbishop of Athens and the other Bishops of Greece, whose ties with the Anglican Church are well known. And I look forward with confidence to an understanding between the two Churches for the good of both. You have just recalled the memory of Theodore, the Archbishop from Tarsus. I am glad that his successor in the twentieth century comes to Athens with no less veneration." Concluding, the Archbishop again expressed his gratitude for the reception which had been accorded him. The address of His Beatitude the Archbishop was translated into English by Prof. Alivisatos, as also the extempore speech of the English Archbishop. The reply being ended, His Beatitude the Archbishop presented the Archbishop of Canterbury with a gold pectoral cross with ribbons, which the latter, deeply moved, received and hung upon his breast, and removing the one he was wearing, expressed his quite special emotion and gratitude at, as he said "this priceless and most sacred gift." After this His Beatitude the Archbishop communicated to him the following telegram from His All Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria.

"We beg you to salute His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on our behalf and to assure him that we grieve at being deprived of the gift of his visit, but we share in the joy of the Church of

Greece at his presence in Athens, conceiving that the honour of it is reflected over the whole Orthodox Church."

The English Archbishop begged that his heartfelt thanks might be transmitted to the Patriarch of Alexandria with a brotherly salutation. The Exarch of the Holy Sepulchre—the deacon Benedict—being also present in the Hall, greeted the English Archbishop on behalf of His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Archbishop of Canterbury begged that his thanks and brotherly greetings might be conveyed also to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and expressed the hope that after the Lambeth Synod of 1930 he might be able to visit the Holy places which he could not visit now, for no other reason, he added, than that it was urgent for him to return to London. After this the Archbishop of Canterbury, escorted by His Beatitude the Archbishop of Athens left the Palace with the same honours, expressing yet once again his boundless thanks for the deeply moving reception which had been given him.

The next day, about two o'clock, His Beatitude the Archbishop, accompanied by Prof. Alivisatos, went to the English Legation to return the visit. He remained conversing with him for some time and finally bade him farewell. The Right Reverend Metropolitan of Thebes and Lebadeia came to the Legation at the end of this interview and presented the Archbishop of Canterbury with a small and very ancient Book of the Gospels in a very costly binding, which the Archbishop received with emotion and declared he would place amongst the treasures of Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop having visited the monuments of Athens left yesterday on his return to London.

It will be remembered that during the Constantinople investigation of Anglican Ordinations, great importance was attached by the Orthodox theologians to the recognition of the Anglican Episcopate implicit in the custom of the Patriarchs, beginning in the 17th century, to write to an Archbishop of Canterbury as "Beloved Brother."

In 1922, the Patriarch Meletios II. set the precedent of giving the Metropolitan of Thyatira letters to our Archbishop as his Apokrisarios, i.e., a permanent legate such as the Eastern Patriarchs maintain at, and hitherto have only maintained at each other's courts. It being understood that the Œcumenical Patriarch would be ready and wishful according to the practice of the Eastern Patriarchs among themselves, to receive a formal notification of his canonical election and enthronization from our present Archbishop, such an Enthronistic and Eirenic letter has been addressed to him, and with his reply is appended here.

The Archbishop's Enthronistic Letter.

TO HIS ALL HOLINESS, THE LORD BASILEIOS, ARCHBISHOP OF
CONSTANTINOPLE AND ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCH, THE ŒCUMENICAL
PATRIARCHATE, THE PHANAR, CONSTANTINOPLE.

BELOVED BROTHER IN CHRIST,

Being now recovered by God's goodness from the indisposition which fell upon me shortly thereafter, I write now to inform your All Holiness that after my due and canonical election as Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan, and after the confirmation thereof according to ancient custom of our land, I was duly and canonically enthroned in the Chair of St. Augustine in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Canterbury on Tuesday, December 10th, according to the ancient canonical manner and with the customary rites of the Church of England.

In notifying your All Holiness that I have been called to this high office, I desire to assure you of my earnest hope and prayer that the sisterly relations which have been developed between the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church in general, and between their primatial sees of Canterbury and of Constantinople in particular during the past fifty years may not only remain unimpaired but may be rendered even more close during my Primacy and that at all times it will be a peculiar satisfaction to me to find myself in brotherly relation to your All Holiness.

And accordingly if your All Holiness shall see fit to give him letters to myself as to my predecessor, I shall find pleasure in receiving our beloved and wise brother the Most Reverend Archbishop Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyatira as your apokrisarios.

Asking your All Holiness' prayers alike for myself and for the well-being and peace of the Anglican Church to the Metropolitan Throne of which God has been pleased to call me, and assuring of my Prayers as for yourself and for the well-being and peace of the Great Church of Constantinople so also for the whole Orthodox Church.

I am, Your All Holiness' Beloved Brother in Christ,
(Sgd.) COSMO CANTUAR.

Reply of the Œcumenical Patriarch.

(Translated from *Orthodoxia*, 30th April, 1929),

MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND PRIMATE OF
ALL ENGLAND, BELOVED AND CHERISHED BROTHER IN CHRIST,
LORD COSMO LANG, GRACE BE WITH YOU AND PEACE FROM GOD
OUR FATHER AND THE LORD JESUS CHRIST.

In company with our Holy Synod, we have received and have read with delight the letter dated last month which your Grace sent us after your happy recovery from your sickness, informing us of

your canonical election and accession to the primatial Throne of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of All England.

We rejoiced to learn of the restoration of your health and of your active assumption of the duties of that primatial office in which the judgment and the election of your revered Church have placed you. And we pray that your honoured Grace's labour therein may ever be fulfilled with Blessing and Grace from the Lord and that your great gifts of Christian erudition and wisdom may bring forth fruit more and more in the primatial see of the Anglican Church which we love and revere.

We felt also profound thankfulness when we received the assurance which you gave us of your heartfelt hope that the relations which have developed in general between the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church, and more particularly between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of Constantinople would not only remain unlesened but would be developed in even greater strength during your Primacy. May the Lord bless and confirm that hope and prayer which in its wholeness we reciprocate and share.

Our own Church will always have at heart and will pursue with eagerness and devotion the maintenance and emphasis of those cordial relations which have had their origin in the disinterested spirit of mutual apprehension and of love, as also at the same time the furtherance of the coming together and of the much desired mutual understanding of the Christian Churches and of the Christian peoples in service and in progress.

We read with most particular pleasure that which in your kindness your Honoured Grace wrote of your high appreciation of the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Thyatira, our well-loved Apokrisarios Germanos. The expression of high appreciation of the work and devotion of the Most Reverend Metropolitan Germanos on the part of your Grace, leads us to renew now to him by this present fraternal letter of ours with even greater urgency our mandate to act as representative of our Church of Constantinople to the venerable Church of England. We beg your Grace, therefore, to bestow as did your revered predecessor, your signal love and goodwill upon Mgr. Germanos, the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Thyatira, our Apokrisarios, as upon our beloved representative who enjoys altogether the confidence and appreciation of ourselves and of our Church.

Making this reply in love to your Honoured Grace and again wishing your Grace in the Lord every fruitfulness with all our soul, we remain with deep respect.

Your Honoured Grace's Beloved Brother in Christ,

BASIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

27th April, 1929.

IMPRESSIONS OF MY FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE NEAR EAST.

By THE RIGHT REV. NUGENT HICKS, LORD BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR.

THE Editor has asked me to write something for *The Christian East* about my first visit, last autumn, to the countries in the Eastern part of the Diocese of Gibraltar. I do so gladly, yet not without misgivings. It is the misfortune of the Bishop of Gibraltar that there are at most only seven or eight months in the year during which he can effectively visit the British Chaplaincies and communities which are his primary responsibility. During the summer months some Chaplaincies are closed, and others are running at half strength with a considerable proportion of their residents away on leave: and the Bishop, on his side, needs a period each year for administrative and money-raising work in England. It follows that it is physically impossible for him to visit every part of the Diocese every year; and on the other hand there are certain important districts and centres, where the numbers of English-speaking people are large, for which an annual visit is necessary. The other parts of the Diocese, therefore—roughly speaking the Eastern and Western ends—can only be touched every other year. And even so there are fixed points, as regards time, which must be observed. Malta, Sicily, Italy and the French Riviera must be taken, as a rule, in the months from Christmas to Easter. And other parts must be fitted in according to the special emergencies of each year.

My last season's travelling could not begin until October, for until the latter part of that month there were many of my own people in Belgrade still away. We started from England on October 15th and returned on May 7th. Between those dates we travelled through every country on the North of the Mediterranean: North Italy, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Turkey and Greece, Sicily, Malta, the French Riviera, Rome, Florence, Milan, Naples, and other Italian Chaplaincies: and, after Easter, Spain, Gibraltar and Portugal.

It was a never-to-be-forgotten experience. But it meant that there were only seven weeks¹ for the "Eastern" trip proper. That is my reason for writing with misgivings. Except for a private visit to Jerusalem long ago, and delightful links, and I hope I may say friendships, with Orthodox Bishops and Clergy in England, at Nice early in 1928, and elsewhere, it was my first contact with Orthodoxy, and my first official visit as Bishop of Gibraltar to Orthodox countries. Long standing interest in, and growing affection for, the Orthodox Church, such as I hope I may claim

¹ I am, for this reason and others, especially glad that my friend and predecessor, the present Bishop of Guildford, has been able in the last few weeks by his visit to Yugo-Slavia to help me in the work of friendship and *rapprochement* which both he and I have so much at heart.

for myself, and occasional and all too short intercourse with her members, may prepare the way for a personal visit. But they cannot give the full and direct knowledge which is needed to make seven short weeks a qualification for writing down impressions.

I may be forgiven, therefore, by my English, and I trust that I shall be approved by my Orthodox, readers if I shrink from rushing into print. The Holy Orthodox Church is too great, too venerable, too significant, to be either superficially inspected, or hastily appraised. I am only too conscious that, unless and until my vast Diocese be divided, no Bishop in charge of the Anglican congregations in the Orthodox countries which I visit can ever give sufficient study to the Orthodox Church on the spot. I can only say that as the years go on, I shall, if I am spared, do my best.

For what I can say, and say gladly, is that I saw enough to make me wish to see far more. If I write to-day with reserve, it is the reserve of respect and of affection, not of a cautious and doubtful judgment.

I say of affection: for on the side of personal intercourse I have but one story to tell. From the time when the venerable Patriarch of Yugo-Slavia got up, during serious illness, to receive me on my arrival at Belgrade, to my farewell meeting with Archbishop Chrysostom of Athens, it was a succession of warm personal welcomes, both in private intercourse and in public; and we look forward keenly to our next visits because we know that we shall be coming back among friends. I say, in this respect, "we," because it was, I suppose, the first occasion on which an Anglican bishop had been accompanied, on such a tour, by his wife; and we shall not easily forget the delicate courtesy and the cordial friendliness which, in Yugo-Slavia for instance, included my wife as well as myself in an invitation to lunch with the Holy Synod during its session at Karlovci, and in a day's happy entertainment there. My more formal and public intercourse included, in Yugo-Slavia, a meeting with the Holy Synod at which we exchanged cordial greetings on behalf of our respective Churches, and a delightful, if less formal, visit to the Theological College at Karlovci, at which we heard beautiful singing by the students, to whom I was invited afterwards to speak. Here, as in an equally happy visit to the Rizareion, the Theological College in Athens, where I was carried away by the life and vigour of the stirring national songs rendered by the students, as also by a beautiful and impressive service in what we should call the College Chapel, I felt, as a former Principal of a Theological College in England, singularly at home.

My Sundays at Belgrade and at Sofia were full of movement; for between our own services at 8 and at 11 (the "home from home" side of English-speaking life abroad), I was welcomed at the Liturgy, at Belgrade in the Cathedral and at Sofia in the great

Church built in memory of the Tsar Alexander. I attended both services in cope and mitre, "in the altar"; and at Sofia I was deeply touched by the request of the celebrant, the Archbishop of Stara Zagora, at the end of the Liturgy, that I should give the blessing. It was a moving experience for an English bishop to stand at the Royal Doors, and to give the blessing in English with the silver cross, that lies for the purpose on the altar, in his uplifted hand.

I cannot omit a reference to the courtesy and hospitality of the Yugo-Slavian Minister of Public Worship, who received us on the day of our arrival, had the Patriarchal saloon carriage attached to the train for our journey to Karlovci and back, and subsequently gave a banquet for us. And it was a great pleasure to renew an old friendship with Bishop Nikolai of Okhrida, who preached for me in 1916 at the annual reunion of Bishops' College, Cheshunt, and to make new friendships with Bishops Barnabas of Sköplje, Dositei of Nish, Bishop Ireney of Novi Sad, the Bishop of Serajevo, Bishop Maximilian, recently enthroned as Bishop of Sibenik, and others. Another happy feature of the visit to Yugo-Slavia was a call that I was able to pay on the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, who lives in the Patriarchal Palace at Karlovci. He received me with great friendliness, and at the luncheon made a most kindly speech of welcome on behalf of all the Bishops present.

Our time at Sofia was accidentally shortened: but the welcome there was none the less warm. I paid a formal call on the Presiding Metropolitan of the Bulgarian Holy Synod, who was accompanied by the Metropolitan Stepan of Sofia and the Archbishop of Stara Zagora; I speak of it as a "formal call," but it soon became a long and friendly conversation, so that when the two Metropolitans and Bishop Païsi came afterwards to a luncheon given at the Legation by the British Minister and Mrs. Spërling we could feel that we were already friends.

Our visit to Roumania was for a bare week, and half the time was spent with our English and American colony at Ploesti, the oil centre. We were in Bucharest from a Friday to the Monday evening: it was unfortunately at the time of the Ministerial crisis, so that the Patriarch, who is one of the Regents, was fully occupied, and unable to see me until the day of my departure. I was received with the utmost cordiality, though of necessity in a somewhat formal and public way, at the Patriarchal Palace. The Patriarch's engagements prevented any further meeting, but I look forward to a longer stay in Bucharest on another visit.

At Constantinople the Œcumenical Patriarch sent his Vicar-General to call on me on my arrival, and the next day I returned the visit, accompanied by our own clergy at Constantinople, and the Rev. J. H. Sharp, one of my Chaplains. His Holiness received me with a graciousness and an affection which I shall

ever warmly and gratefully appreciate. He spoke much of the movement towards understanding and unity that lies so near his heart, and it was a great privilege to me, when I was conducted afterwards by members of the Holy Synod to the Cathedral of St. George of the Phanar, to be invited to pray at the Altar for what His Holiness and I had spoken of. On the Sunday of my visit three Metropolitans and the Vicar-General were welcome visitors at our own service at the Crimean Memorial Church, and one of the Metropolitans, at my request, gave us the Blessing.

We were delayed by bad weather at Smyrna, and arrived in Athens a week late. This delay, and the critical condition of His Majesty our King, broke up all the arrangements of a more formal kind that had been made for my visit. But besides a formal, but most friendly visit to the Holy Synod, I had, happily, several opportunities of meeting Archbishop Chrysostom, whose great work for the Church in Greece ought to be better known in England. I am thankful that it was possible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to pay a visit to Athens, and that he has therefore had the opportunity of seeing for himself the warm friendliness with which representatives of the Anglican Church are received by Archbishop Chrysostom.

Of my visit to the Rizareion I have already spoken: and from Athens I went out of the Orthodox countries into the Western part of my Diocese. I have given little more than a record. But I think such records have their value. Mine has at least given me the opportunity of showing how deeply I value and appreciate the personal kindness which was shown to me, and the beginnings of friendships which I hope I have formed. Later in the season there was a happy, and wholly unexpected, renewal of two of these at our own Sunday Evensong at Nice, in March. I was due to preach, and found, to my delight, that Bishop Ireney of Novi Sad, who was also at Nice, was coming to the Service; and, over and above that, the Russian Metropolitan Evlogie of Paris came to call on me before the service began. He had stayed with us in my country parish in Bedfordshire a few years before and was, therefore, an old friend: and the service became a memorable one for our English congregation, because the Metropolitan, who could only be present at the beginning, opened it with a Blessing in Russian, and Bishop Ireney closed it with the Blessing in admirable English. I was thankful that the Western part of our Diocese was thus brought into contact with the wonderful movement of friendship which is progressing so happily in the East.

I speak of it as a movement of friendship, because of that at least we are certain. If I dared, with my present limited knowledge, to say more, I should write in stronger and more definite language. But it is with personal friendship that all sound movements towards unity must begin. For it is only through

friendship that true knowledge can come: and I am convinced that once we have real knowledge of each other, much can follow. The last few years have done much to widen the basis of this knowledge, though for long before that the Church owed an incalculable debt to such pioneers on our side as Mr. Athelstan Riley and the late Mr. W. J. Birkbeck. But the isolations of centuries, which kept East and West apart, cannot be bridged in a moment, or by the holding out of a few hands only on either side. I long for the day—and may it soon come—when free and constant intercourse in England as in the Orthodox countries between clergy and laity on both sides may become a normal element in our Christian experience. Such intercourse must be extended beyond those who are specialists. I have seen something of this extended intercourse, indeed, on a small scale, among what may be called the rank and file of our two Churches, and what I have seen, where there is the right spirit, is full of promise. For, in truth, the more we penetrate beneath the surface, and behind the obvious and outward differences, the more do we find of a real community of spirit. Among all the nations of the West, our own has, in experience and in temperament, some special facilities for understanding the Eastern mind. There ought to be a deep inward link between two Churches which have in their past history made such efforts and sacrifices for freedom. And it is not for nothing that the first great champion alike of the unity and of the liberty of the English Church was the great Greek Archbishop Theodore. Nor can it be in vain that two Churches should approach each other of which one, alike in a great convulsion and in the steady currents of her own distinctive theology, has reasserted her appeal to the doctrine and discipline of the early Church, and the other has preserved that same doctrine and discipline, with the least possible changes, from the beginning to the present day. I write with a great hope that the closer we study and the more we experience the worship, the doctrinal attitude, the ecclesiastical position of the Holy Orthodox Church, the more we shall find in it to enter into and to learn from: and the nearer we can draw to each other, without any premature forcing of issues, the more wholehearted, and the more effective, and the more mutually helpful, may be our partnership.

THE FIFTH ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE.

By CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

BY the kindness of my friend, Mr. Sidney Dark, its editor, the *Church Times* has already published my general description and impressions¹ of the Fifth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage and I do not purpose in this article to cover that ground again.

¹ In its issues of April 12, 19, 26 and May 3.

In fact, however, the history of Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage to the Holy Land has been detailed year by year in the *Christian East* since its inception, and before proceeding to my special function of writing about the contacts which it gave us with the Orthodox and with the Copts and other historic Christians of the Near East, I will put a short account of it on record.

THE PILGRIMAGE IN ITSELF.

Our Dimissory was given on Easter Monday at St. Barnabas, Pimlico, by that staunch and veteran patron of the A.C. Pilgrimage Association, Dr. Perrin, Bishop of Willesden, in consort with Archbishop Germanos, of Thyatira.

On Easter Tuesday, April 2nd, we left Victoria by the mid-day train and reaching Marseilles the next morning at 7.30 a.m., proceeded to the Messageries Maritimes steamer, *Mariette Pacha*, which put off at mid-day.

The arrangements made for our comfort by the kind care of our good friend, Sir Henry Lunn, were admirable and I should record that we are all enthusiastic in our gratitude to him. His organization moved us about like a well-oiled machine, and first to last never permitted us a fitch.

Of the peace and delight of our voyage I have written at length in the *Church Times*. For my own part, I have never enjoyed a happier week in my life. From the first we were all at home with one another. As the days went on we became a family and the spirit which knit us together was the true pilgrim spirit.

For all that, undoubtedly we owed a great deal to our leaders. Our great regret was the absence of Father Whittingham, the father of modern Anglican Pilgrimage who owing to serious illness last January had been compelled to stay back from an A.C.P. for the first time since he initiated the A.C.P.A. in 1924.

In our President, Dr. Kenneth Mackenzie, Bishop of Argyll, and in our Chaplain, Father Seyzinger, we were peculiarly happy and we owe them much, both for the way they ministered to our devotion and made us at home with one another. Both have the art of conversation and were tireless in exercising it for our benefit.

Major General Carleton Jones was a perfect secretary. Myself, I was privileged to act as a liaison officer to arrange contacts with the clergy of the Orthodox and other Eastern Churches.

In acknowledging also our great debt to M. le Mens, the Captain of the *Mariette Pacha*, for his inimitable and gracious hospitality, I should take the opportunity of commenting on the most unwarranted criticism which appeared in the *Tablet*, on April 26th and May 3rd. I had recorded in the *Church Times* that the Captain had placed the fixed altars on his upper deck and their equipment at our disposal. Assuming that those altars, etc., had been consecrated by a Roman Catholic bishop, the Editor of that paper

saw fit to suggest in some acrid paragraphs that M. le Mens had been a negligent custodian of them and that by masquerading as Roman Catholics we had tricked him into lending them. In fact, the altars, etc., had not been so consecrated and M. le Mens did not offer to lend us the consecrated altar slabs on which, when using them, Roman Catholics celebrate. Moreover, we used our own altar slabs and vestments.

We reached Alexandria on Sunday, April 7th, stayed there till the Tuesday, and finally arrived at Jaffa on Wednesday, April 10th.

A great deal can happen in seven days, and in my life I do not remember a fuller week than that which we spent in the Holy City. Of course, we paid visits to the Holy Sepulchre, to the Temple, and to Bethlehem and soon rendered such acts of devotion as the following the Via Dolorosa, and the making the mystic night march from the Cœnaculum down the Temple Declivity and across the Kedron to Gennesaret. But over and above all that, we found time to drive to the Dead Sea, Jordan and Jericho, to spend a day at St. John Baptist's birthplace, Ain Karim, in "the hills of Judæa," to ride to Bethany and so on. Also we had a free day on which a few of us took the long trip to Hebron, under the famous mosque of which in the cave of Macphalah, the Moslems say that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph wait with their wives for the Judgment Day.

On Tuesday, April 16th, we left Jerusalem for Galilee in a fleet of taxis, passed between Ebal and Gerizim, and drove through Samaria and over the plain of Esdrælon to Nazareth. En route, we stopped at Sychar and drank of Jacob's Well. The same day we went on to the Sea of Galilee and visited the famous and magnificent excavated Synagogue at Capernaum.

We had Wednesday, April 17th, to ourselves at Nazareth until the evening, when we drove to Haifa at the foot of the long Carmel range and embarked on the Messageries S.S. *Lotus*.

Our return voyage was as delightful and devotional as our outward voyage. We stopped at Jaffa and for two nights at Alexandria. We had our daily Eucharists and services and enjoyed each other's society.

On our arrival at Marseilles on Thursday, April 25th, we rendered our Thanksgiving Eucharist and the Te Deum, and our President dissolved the Pilgrimage.

Most of us came straight home, reaching Victoria on Friday, April 27th.

In regard to our contacts with the Orthodox and other Easterns, the following paragraphs may interest the reader.

THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS.

The Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios II., whom we knew as Meletios III., when he was Œcumenical Patriarch, had

decided to give us a striking reception and to that end had arranged that several bishops of his Synod should be there. Unfortunately he had not been told that the greater number of us would be going to Cairo in the evening and had fixed that event for Monday, April 8th. Accordingly, on our arrival at mid-day, it became my business to get the ceremony transferred to the afternoon. All the world in Alexandria—even I suspect the Patriarch himself—takes a siesta after lunch. It speaks volumes, therefore, alike for the goodness of the Patriarch and for the efficiency of his officials that we were bidden to be at the Cathedral of St. Saba at 4 o'clock and that though the members of the Holy Synod could not be got together at that short notice and much that had been planned had to go by the board, the Orthodox rite for a Pilgrimage Itinerary was celebrated by his Beatitude with extraordinary dignity.

St. Saba is the one symbolic church possessed by the Orthodox in Egypt and much of its edifice is late, it dates from the eighth century.

That the Patriarch Meletios has played no small part in the history both of the Orthodox Church and of the Greek nation during the past thirty years can need no saying to the readers of *The Christian East*. As secretary of the Synod of Jerusalem, he had a great share in preventing the exploitation of the Arabophone question in the interests of Pan Slavism before he accepted the Bishopric of Kition in Cyprus in 1909. In 1917 on the deposition of the Germanophil Metropolitan Theokletos of Athens, he was called to the primatial Throne of the Church of Hellas. In 1920, after the restoration of King Constantine, he was driven into exile from Greece. But in December, 1921, he was elected to be Ecumenical Patriarch. His occupancy of the Chair of St. Chrysostom was less than two years in duration and during those two years he was incessantly in danger of his life. Once, indeed, the agents of Mustapha Kemal were within an ace of kidnapping him and of hurrying him off to be hanged at Nicomedia. None the less, he refused to abandon his charge until, when nearly a full twelvemonth after the Smyrna Holocaust of 1922, the Kemalists were on the eve of entering Constantinople and his continued presence would have risked the massacre of his flock. But surely though it was, his short Patriarchate was full of salient achievements. Thus he initiated that Reform of the Calendar which with the exception of Jerusalem, Yugo-Slavia and the Patriarchal Russian Church, has now been adopted by all the anathematised Orthodox Churches. By his acceptance of the validity of our Ordinations in 1922, he not only removed the most thorny of obstacles to the approach of Anglicans and Orthodox to re-union, but both brought them into close *economic* relations and created an atmosphere congenial to the development of spiritual intimacies and practical co-operation between them. And so on.

After his abdication in November, 1923, he lived at Kephissia near Athens in retirement until his election in 1926 to the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria in succession to our good friend, the late Patriarch Photios. Of course, as every man of marked vigour and action must have, he has many critics, but no one can dispute that he has a way of getting things done. In his 2½ years at Alexandria he has already accomplished a great deal of that kind of quiet constructive work for which he has great capability and for which the times gave him no opportunity at Athens or Constantinople. Thus he has shown high administrative ability in the at least temporary satisfaction of the demands of the Egyptian Arab speaking Orthodox by the giving them a Syrian bishop and has thus gone far to settle a problem which is of *pari materia* with the familiar Palestinian Arabophone problem and though less acute, is almost as difficult. He has taken the first step towards equipping the Patriarchate with an efficient system of clergy training by instituting a Theological School in Alexandria. He has created new dioceses and has begun the overhauling of the administrative machinery of the Patriarchate. And so on. At the same time he has shown great pastoral activity and has vastly stimulated the life of his people in every way.

Always a dignified figure—his beard, which in 1922 when he was last in London, was black, is now driven-white—he was every inch a Patriarch as robed in his mitre and *mandyas* and with his *paterissa*, topped with St. Mark's Lion in his hand, he received us in St. Saba, and the students of his new Theological School having sung the office, welcomed us. In what he had to say, he made reference to the kinship which by its origin and through Archbishop Theodosius in century VII, the English Church has with the Orthodox, to his own 17th century predecessors, Cyril Lukar and Critopoulos Metrophanes—to the former's gift of Codex Alexandrinus and to the latter's sojourn in London—and to many others who have worked to bring the Churches together. Finally, he paid a very eloquent tribute both to Archbishop Davidson and to our present Archbishop, and gave utterance to his confident hope that the Lambeth Conference next year would be marked by evidence of the close approximation of the two Churches. In reply the Bishop of Argyll expressed the warm affection in which the Patriarch is held in all the Anglican Churches and the admiration felt for the courageous part he played at Constantinople and his splendid services to Christian Re-union.

THE COPTS.

After the Patriarch had received each member of our Pilgrimage and had given us coffee in his Reception Room, we went on to the Coptic Cathedral.

I need not remind the reader of *The Christian East* that the

Coptic Church is the old national Church of Egypt which adopted Monophysism between the 4th and 7th centuries.

It is a sound principle that the lasting schisms, the fissures of which are on national lines, have been the effect not simply of the theologian's perversity but rather of the meddling of the politician. In fact, the Egyptians—Copt, of course, is the root form of Egypt—and with them the Syrian Jacobites, went into schism to escape denationalization at the hands of the Byzantine Emperors who with the object of welding all their subjects into a single supra-national consciousness aimed at transforming the ancient diversity of the different national churches into uniformity with the Greek Church.

The tragic fruit of that bitter quarrel was that Islam did not rise and pass away as an obscure Arab cult, but found the Bible lands defenceless through their people's hostility to the Empire and its Church, swept over them, settled down in them and solidified itself into a great world religion.

The Copts and Jacobite Syrians have paid a great price for whatever was their sin in the schism.

After 1,300 years of indescribable helotage as Moslem *rayah*, i.e., cattle, the former number only a fifth of the people of Egypt and the latter survive only in a few districts of Syria and Mesopotamia. But in retaining their primitive distinctive Catholic Christianity, they retained their nationality. Thus whereas all other Egyptians have lost all consciousness of identity with the people of the Pharaohs, and think of themselves as Arabs, the Copt of to-day even if his vernacular be Arabic, and suffers from something like a superiority complex on account of this fact, knows himself as Egyptian. Until our own days, religion always has been the great criterion of nationality in the East, and the Copt's categories of life and custom are Egyptian in their derivation. He practises circumcision, has his Liturgy and calendar. In his Liturgy which is of the Eastern type but is dependent on no other, a late form of the Egyptian tongue predominates. And so on.

Isolated from the rest of Christendom and an underworld in a Moslem land as the Copts have been since the 6th century, they have lived in and into themselves. That such conditions should have made them intensely conservative and inclined to keep their shutters up against other Christians was, therefore, to be expected.

The Copts have immemorially supplied important elements in the Egyptian mercantile community and administrative civil service and during the fifty years since the British occupation, have taken full advantage of the opportunities of modern education. Moreover, Egypt has during that period naturally been the theatre of great and continued activity on the part of that splendid socio-religious work of which the Y.M.C.A. is the symbol. Of that work no Near Eastern religious nationality has availed itself more eagerly than have the Copts, and among none has it been more fruitful. In

Egypt, however, as until recently in the Balkans, that work appears still to be handicapped by the reactions of a false start.

That fifty years ago keen Protestant missionaries and socio-religious workers should have regarded the churches of the East as hopelessly formalist, superstitious and hide-bound anachronisms is very understandable. Both were impatient of a Christianity which was not apiece with their own and in a hurry to transform the Eastern Christian into their own likeness. When they found that the Eastern Churches were slow to accept reform at their hands, they concluded that to be reformed out of existence was the only reform of which they were capable. Though there are those of them who are still of that mind, that attitude is now happily largely of the past. The Y.M.C.A.—as witness the concordat reached by it and the Orthodox authorities at Sophia last year—has definitely laid it down that its business is to work with the Eastern Churches and not to subvert or interfere with them, and, though in despair of converting the Moslems a few Protestant missionaries still turn their attention to the Eastern Christian, proselytization is discouraged and disowned not only by the authorities of the Anglican Church but by those of most Protestant bodies:

In Egypt, first under Bishop Blyth and now under that most warm-hearted and kindly paladin Bishop Gwynn, the *mot d'ordre* has long been to manifest practical Christian love to the Copts, to help them whenever, wherever and however they are willing to accept help, but in no case, whatever, to interfere in their affairs.

None the less and apart from past mistakes, the conditions of to-day make that service a delicate task. In the Balkan Orthodox countries the higher clergy are on the whole men of wide outlook and culture. Their influence and position are assured. Their churches are progressive. So that they know the value of the service offered them and how to use it, and are not afraid of it. With the Copts it is different. Their higher clergy still belong to the older generation and are of the pre-British occupation tradition. They have no first-hand knowledge of Western Christianity. On the other hand, Egypt is seething with movements and *more suo* the younger generation are impatient of their seniors' static conservatism. Naturally, those of them who are drawn into the closer contacts with us Anglicans and who enter into the life of the Y.M.C.A. and so on, become eager for progress of every kind. To avoid the providing a focus and a breeding-ground for extreme opinions and policies which would destroy the essential traditions of the Coptic Church and at the same time to help it in its necessary preparation to enter into the common spirit and possessions of modern Christianity, demands extraordinary power of vision and self restraint on the part of those who devote

1 See *Christian East*, Vol. ix, 1928, No. 4, p. 165.

themselves to serve the Copts. Moreover, the whole problem is rendered immeasurably more difficult for them by that "inferiority complex" which is the root of the Egyptian national question. There is plainly a danger that if the representatives of Western Christianity in Egypt become involved in domestic Coptic controversies and even in appearance afford a base for the advanced Coptic reformer, the conservative Copts will tar them with the brush with which the Wafdist has tarred the British Egyptian Administration. *Mutatis mutandis* the cry of No British interference in our Church, might be as effective among Copts as, No British Government of our country, has been inflammatory among the Egyptians in general. Of course, the responsible representatives of the Anglican Church in Egypt and of the Y.M.C.A. are well aware of the injury which unwisdom might do to their power of service to the Copts.

Their ability to walk warily but withal courageously is now being instanced and tested. On the death of the centenarian Patriarch Cyril, in 1927, a more modern method than that by which he had been elected over half a century before had plainly to be devised for the election of his successor and the matter gave rise to a sharp controversy between the bulk of the laity and the more progressive clergy on the one hand and the hierarchy and more conservative clergy and laity on the other. The Coptic Patriarch is, of course, a major official of the Egyptian state and nothing could be done without the consent of the Egyptian Government. The story of what happened is not very clear, but widespread agreement exists that resort was had to mediæval methods such as bribery. For the representatives of the Anglican Church to show indifference in such a case was impossible, but apparently the Copts' confidence in their general impartiality and determination to abstain from interference in the domestic affairs is such that the attitude of Bishop Gwynne and his clergy has not been misconstrued.

I made the acquaintance of the new Patriarch, the Amba Yohanna, twenty-five years ago when I was doing duty at Alexandria, of which city he was then—and though the Coptic canons do not permit it, still remains bishop. Since then I have seen him from time to time and have kept up some correspondence with him. So that we are old friends.

Under other circumstances, he would have come to Alexandria to receive us, and his Vicar, the Amba Yosef, welcomed us warmly in the Coptic Convent of St. Mark. Its church is a modern structure of the usual Coptic type. In a chamber off its *haikal* or sanctuary, which is separated from the nave by a low screen, the Amba gave us opportunity to venerate the arm of St. Mark. N.B. The Guide Books are sarcastic and say that the Copts claim that they have the body of the Saint which as everybody knows, the Venetian Knights, Tribunus and Rusticus stole in the 9th century

—the doge ought to have bidden his scullion hack off the ruffians' spurs for their mean sacrilege—and which is still the pride of Venice. What the Copts do claim is that in their cowardly haste, the two ruffians broke off the right arm of the Saint and left it behind.

If Alexandria has no remarkable Coptic church, Cairo has a dozen of great antiquity and symbolic value. They are all in old Cairo or Babylon as the Romans called it—its Arab name is Fostat—the ancient walled city a mile or so up the Nile above modern Cairo.

Our pilgrims who visited half-a-dozen of them came back full of delight. Indeed, they accounted their visit to them as their happiest experience in Cairo. The two most striking are Abu Sirga and Sitt Miriam. Under Abu Sirga is the extremely old—it is certainly earlier than the 6th century—three-aisled crypt which is the reputed Cave of the Sojourn of the Holy Family. Sitt Miriam, i.e., Our Lady Mary, is in one of the towers of a Roman Gateway. Nearly all the old Coptic churches are remarkable for their screens and panellings of cedar, ivory and mother of pearl. Two leaves of eight panels of that exquisite work which were abstracted from this Church only 40 years ago, are now in the British Museum and *ought to be sent back*. The way they were acquired was as dishonourable as the Venetian method of acquiring St. Mark's body. Sitt Miriam, which is in a way the Copts' Westminster Abbey—their Patriarchs used to be crowned in it—is also very old. There was a church on its site long before the Arab conquest.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS.

On Monday, April 8th, while our fellow pilgrims were in Cairo, I had the privilege of presenting the Patriarch Meletios with a letter entrusted to me by our Archbishop and announcing his accession to the Chair of St. Augustine. Such letters which are addressed to each other by the heads of autocephalous Orthodox Churches on their accession, are called *enthronistic or eirenic*. The interchanging of such letters on the occasion of our Archbishop's enthronement had been invited by the Œcumenical Patriarch and no such interchange having previously taken place on the part of the Orthodox except with the Orthodox, constitutes an important precedent.

In the morning the Patriarch had a long conversation with the Bishop of Argyll, Mr. Richmond and myself, during which he showed us the plan for the enlargement of his Church of St. Saba, for which he has now £20,000 in hand, and by which the old building will be preserved and expanded into a large Cathedral.

In the afternoon I was privileged to have a personal audience with his Beatitude and also conversations with my old friends,

Mgr. Theophanes, Metropolitan of Tripoli, who was *topoteretes* during the vacancy of the Patriarchate, and Archbishop Nikolaos, formerly Metropolitan of Nubia and now of Ermopoulis, i.e., Tanta in the Delta, who came to London in 1925 with the Patriarch Photios and was at Stockholm, Lausanne, etc.

ORTHODOX HOSPITALITY IN PALESTINE.

From the time that we landed at Jaffa where the Archimandrite Philotheos, the priest of the town, welcomed us in the name of the Patriarch until we left Nazareth, the Orthodox clergy treated us with hospitality which illustrates the close, brotherly relations that now subsist between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. So far as I am aware, there was nothing new in the way in which they manifested that hospitality, but that was because short of intercommunion there is hardly a possible precedent which has not been set during the four previous Anglo-Catholic pilgrimages.

In the afternoon of the day of our arrival in the Holy City, Archbishop Timotheos, of the Jordan, with whom my own friendship goes back to 1905, when he was an undergraduate at Oxford, met us on our way to the Church of the Anastasis where the Archimandrite Kyriakos who is the Guardian of the Church and keeps its keys was waiting for us. As on our former pilgrimages the Archimandrite who speaks English admirably, first delivered us an address of welcome and then having admitted us to the Holy Sepulchre two by two, took us to Calvary and the other holy places in the great Church. If he had had his way, he would have invited our leader and chaplain to lead us in our devotions, but the Latin insistence on the *status quo* forbade him.

After we had rendered our vows in the Holy Sepulchre, we went on to St. George's Cathedral, in his garden hard by which Dr. McInnes, our Bishop in Jerusalem was waiting to give us tea and had invited the chief representatives in Jerusalem of the different Eastern Churches to meet us. I imagine that most of our pilgrims were perplexed to place the members of that gathering. Besides the Orthodox, it included Mgr. Tourian, the Armenian Patriarch, the Jacobite and Abyssinian bishops and the Coptic Abbot in Jerusalem. In fact except the 'Assyrian and, of course, the Maronites and other pathetic Uniates, every Eastern Church was represented in it.

Here, I may take opportunity to say how profoundly thankful every Anglican who takes a wide view of the general Christian complex of our time, ought to be and must be, for the work that is being done by Dr. McInnes and his staff in the Holy Land. I do not write this because during our pilgrimage, Archdeacon Stewart was father and mother to us or because Mr. Bridgeman was unsparing in his service to us; nor am I led to do so by the great kindness which Dr. McInnes showed us all. The fact is that

Dr. McInnes is a very worthy inheritor of the tradition which Bishop Blyth set thirty years ago. He has long experience of and understands the Orthodox, discourages proselytization, has their confidence and is rendering them service which they can and do accept gladly. His lead is taken up by Archdeacon Stewart and the Rev. C. T. Bridgeman, who act as his liaison men, the former with the Orthodox and the latter with the National Churches. Mr. Bridgeman is at St. George's under an agreement reached by Archbishop Davidson and Dr. McInnes in 1926 with the American Church whereby the latter provides a member of the Anglican staff at Jerusalem. His special function is to act in liaison with the Armenians and other National Churches. He teaches in the Armenian Patriarchal College and is a *persona gratissima* in his particular sphere.

The official reception given by the Patriarch Damianos to our Pilgrimage in the Monastery of the Holy Cross on the morrow of our arrival in Jerusalem was as usual most gracious and affectionate. His Beatitude seems not a whit older—he is now in his 83rd year—than when I last saw him in 1925. Indeed, he struck me as more vigorous. This year he presented us each with a beautiful little nacre cross which he had himself blessed in the Holy Sepulchre—a gift which set me wondering as to whether an Anglican-Orthodox Old Pilgrims' League could not be brought into being.

During our stay in Jerusalem, his Beatitude conferred the Orthodox Order of the Holy Sepulchre upon the Bishop of Argyll and Major General Carleton Jones, and it was my privilege at his bidding to present them at our hotel with its decoration—viz.: a collar and a cross containing a fragment of the True Cross of which he also gave a fragment in a reliquary to Father Seyzinger for his community.

During our stay in the Holy City, I had several long and interesting conversations with the Patriarch, as also with the Metropolitans of Madeba, the Jordan, and other members of the Holy Synod.

I was delighted to find that the Arabophone question was far less acute, that the friction between the Patriarchate and the Commission of Financial Control which when I had last been in Jerusalem was acute, had largely disappeared and also that the 1926 Report of the Bertram Commission, the intervention proposed by which in the affairs of the Patriarchate aroused very bitter indignation in all Orthodox countries, is universally regarded as dead and forgotten.

When we visited Bethlehem the Metropolitan of the Jordan, who is the Custodian of the Church of the Nativity, followed the precedent which he set last year and celebrated the Liturgy for us in English, during which he preached us a striking sermon. So far as I know, such an act of economy, i.e., the celebration of the

Liturgy for an Anglican congregation—there were no Orthodox present except the ministers and a few monks, etc.—has no precedent. It certainly is signal and noteworthy.

The Russian Archbishop Anastasy and the Russian Nuns at Ain Karim, showed us that subtly delicate and delicious hospitality which is typically and peculiarly Russian, and the Archbishop rendered a service for us in the Church of his convent there, and lent us his Church at Gennesaret on our night march. He entertained us also at the Russian Church outside Hebron where is the reputed oak of Abraham.

The Metropolitan Cleopas of Nazareth reminds me always of a warm-hearted, jolly Yorkshireman. He leaves his guests no doubt as to his being glad to see them. As it happens, however, he was a pronounced friend of our Church forty years ago in those days when Anglican and Orthodox friendship was at its beginnings and his joy at welcoming us and in devoting himself to be our host was writ all over him throughout our stay at Nazareth.

He not only gave us the use of his Cathedral for our four Celebrations, but himself prepared its Holy Table for them and was present at them. Also in case we had required them, he had his vestments and holy vessels ready for us and by his order the priest at Cana vested our Bishop with his *epitrachelion* at the service we had in its Church. Later in the day, he took us to the ancient church of St. Gabriel which stands on the spot identified by St. Helena as the site of the Annunciation and which—the water is carried underground and comes up in the open at our Lady's Fountain, a couple of hundred yards away—enshrines the sacred spring from which the Christ Child must have drawn water. There at his bidding, we drank of the *ayasma*, sang Magnificat, said the Angelus and rendered our devotions. That done he prayed for our Church and Nation and King, and for the hastening of the Re-union of our churches. Finally nothing would content him but that we should sing our National Anthem.

Assuredly it is enthusiastic love such as his which is forging the links of the chain that some day will bring about Orthodox and Anglican Intercommunion.

We all loved him and can never forget him.

THE SEPARATED CHURCHES.

However much they honour them for their martyrdom, most Westerners are apt to look on the ancient national Churches of the East which are in separation from the Orthodox, as pathetic remnants and the survivals of a past greatness rather than as of practical present and future importance. In that they are, I venture to think, quite wrong. It is true that the Copts, Jacobites and Armenians present themselves to the first glance as isolated minorities in Moslem countries. In fact, however, they are in

communion with each other and are to be regarded as a single supra-national Church made up of national churches among which prevails the widest diversity in every detail of the expression of their faith and life. As they are to-day, they have not much contact with each other, but I venture to estimate that there is no small probability that in the comparatively near future they will become a solidarity which will have to be reckoned as an important factor in the general Christian complex.

Of course, they all went into schism from the Latin and Greek Churches as "monophysites." Possibly they never were deeply infected by that heresy. Certainly the Jacobites and probably the Armenians are quite free from it now.¹ But in any case to style them Monophysites would be offensive. Moreover, the Copts and Jacobites—the Armenians are in communion with both but fell out of Communion with the Greek Church in Century VII, and have never entered into formal union with them—hold themselves to be the Orthodox Church and style themselves Coptic Orthodox and Syrian Orthodox respectively. So that the only thing to do is to describe them by a collective periphrasis such as Separated Eastern Churches or the like.

At the time of the schism there was a third "monophysite" Patriarch, sc. of Jerusalem. But it lapsed soon afterwards. The Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria and the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch who is always styled Mar Ignatios, exchange Paschal letters yearly and look on themselves as brother Patriarchs in the same way as do the Orthodox Patriarchs of those jurisdictions. Armenians, Jacobites and Copts, when isolated from their own priests, attend each other's services and mutually receive the Sacraments from their priests.

The Copts, Jacobites and Armenians maintain convents in the Holy City and have chapels in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where they enjoy immemorial rights.

The Armenians have always had a large colony in Palestine and since the Turkish conquest have had a Patriarch in Jerusalem.² Their convent with its superb Cathedral is one of the finest buildings in Jerusalem. Its decoration of tiles and other work is superb and incomparable. It stands on the reputed site of the martyrdom of St. James the Great, whose body is its chief possession. The present Patriarch Tourian is a famous Armenian poet and scholar and a man of the finest scholarship. He received us very warmly and we had a most pleasant and profitable conversation with him.

On the Friday afternoon we visited the Coptic Abbot Gabriel and the Syrian Orthodox, *i.e.*, Jacobite, Metropolitan of Jerusalem,

¹ In 1922 the Jacobite Patriarch forwarded our Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee a statement which it found to be free from heresy.

² Among the Armenians a *Catholicos* corresponds to a Patriarch among the Orthodox. Their Patriarchs do not consecrate bishops or the chrism. The office, which is anomalous, was instituted under the Turks to provide political heads of the Armenian *millets* in Constantinople and Jerusalem.

Kurilos Michael Anton, and again we found these visits well worth while and instructive. Both prelates were highly intelligent and gave us much information.

THE HABASH.

On the same day we visited the fine new Abyssinian Monastery outside the walls of the City.

The Habash or Abyssinians are an Arab race which crossed over to Africa in the early centuries of our era and established itself there by conquest over the local African races, but has never merged with them. The population of Abyssinia is therefore mixed and includes heathen peoples as well as those of the Islamic and Jewish religions.

The story of the conversion of Abyssinia by the Egyptian Frumentius in the fourth century goes to show that the Habash derived its Christianity from Egypt and the relation of their Church to the Coptic goes far to establish that deduction. None the less, the Abyssinian Church possesses its own Liturgy and in their customs, outlook and general categories the Habash are in many respects diverse from the Copts. In particular they have many strong Judaic characteristics.

In its theory Abyssinia is an Empire of the Byzantine theocratic type and its Negus, or Emperor, claims descent from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. While on its secular side, its theory is comparable to that of the sacred and exclusive Tsardom of Russia. Ecclesiastically it is simply a province under the supreme jurisdiction of the Coptic Patriarch. Its Metropolitan or Abuna has always been chosen from the Coptic clergy and nominated and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch.

In its life, however, it has also always been independent and national.

Accordingly, it bears an extraordinary comparison to that Holy Russia which before it became an autokephalous Patriarchate in 1587, was on the one hand simply a province of the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, but on the other hand claimed to be a divinely destined universal Tsardom and the heir of the Sacred Œcumenical Empire of Constantinople.

Until fifty years ago Western Christianity was in another world from the Copts and from the Habash, who formed a world of their own. In that world the Negus at Axum was something like the Russian Tsar in Moscow—at times when the Copts were over-mishandled by the Moslems he relieved them by the threat of crossing over to Mecca and smashing the Kaaba to powder—and the Coptic Patriarch was something like the Œcumenical Patriarch. Obviously, the Habash Empire can bear no comparison with the mighty Russian Tsardom. The Habash remain an exclusive, though dominant racial minority in it. They have played no part

in world history and have made no contribution to world civilization. But though only relative and applicable to their isolated region of the earth, the parallel is there.

The rapid process which is incessantly transforming the old order everywhere out of existence and is bringing every type of its civilization into a *bloc* of modern common life, will necessarily change Abyssinia, but at present, it is only beginning to lay hold of it. No doubt the Habash is now aware of Europe with its railways and aeroplanes and trade and wars. But he is still very far away from it, and is as disdainful of it as was Chinese mandarin of pre-Boxer days.

Abyssinia is the last corner of the world where life is lived under categories which make things spiritual and things secular a real bilateral unity.

The problem of controlling the new wine so that it will not burst the ancient bottles is the problem on the solution of which all of us must wish Ras Taffari, its present Negus, success. That he is wise and far-sighted as well as courageous, all of us who have come into contact with him must agree, but his task is not easy.

Meanwhile, in Abyssinia, Church and State function as they functioned in the so-called *cæsaropapism* of the late Byzantine Empire and the old outlook, the old customs—and superstitions—dominate everything.

That is what made our visit to the Abyssinian Monastery at Jerusalem so interesting

The Habash is a great pilgrim and you will find him represented in Jerusalem all the year round.

Long ago, he had a chapel in the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, but it passed into the hands of the Copts, and the Copts being adamant in refusing the Habash more than internal autonomy, hold that outside Abyssinia they should be Copts and have hitherto resisted all demands for its restoration successfully. The Habash being thus reduced to a little chapel on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre, Ras Taffari has built them this fine monastery.

Its church is of the usual Abyssinian round form, with a circular inner shrine for its sanctuary¹ under its dome, is surrounded by a circular terrace and stands in a fine garden.

Its Member or Abbot, Weld Mikhail Tesfa, is a refined and scholarly man—the typical educated Abyssinian monk is tall, svelt, reserved, polished and very dignified—and received us in the most charming fashion, first showing us the church and explaining the arrangement of the church, and then putting on his vestments and going with his clergy, acolytes and umbrella bearers—his drums and horns and other musical instruments—were at the Holy Sepulchre—in a procession on the circular terrace so that one of

¹ In the Holy Table which stands under the centre of the Dome is a cavity in which is kept the Ark or Tabot that contains the Holy Scriptures, the altar cloth and sacred relics.

our party who had a cinema Kodak might film it, and finally having a long talk with us while he gave us coffee in the garden.

THE RE-UNION MOVEMENT.

I have jotted down these paragraphs because it seemed to me that they might give the ordinary reader of *The Christian East* some idea of the glimpses into Near Eastern Christianity which are open to the Anglican who goes on pilgrimage to Re-union.

In regard to our Movement towards Re-union with the Orthodox and with other Eastern Churches, the times are less propitious now than, say, five years ago, but unquestionably steady progress is being made. In particular, the permissibility of the mutual admission economy of Anglicans and Orthodox to each other's sacramental ministrations when in real isolation or emergency, is becoming increasingly envisaged and is now very widely accepted by the Orthodox everywhere. In general, I have no hesitation in saying that, if it were not for our own domestic controversies, the Orthodox would be ready for a great advance towards the desired goal and are eager for it. The required atmosphere and imponderabilia are there. But nothing is to be gained by blinking facts. For the most part, the Orthodox understand the rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by the House of Commons to have been an arbitrary and erastian vagary. That which troubles them, is the tendency of the Church of England to speak with two voices. They do not expect us to repudiate our past and they make no extravagant demands of us but they cannot understand either why the Anglican Episcopate does not declare itself synodically to be in continuity of Apostolic Faith and Order with the English Church of the sixth century, nor why it should not be in unity with itself. They make no extravagant demands, but simply ask that we should present them with a position on which they can negotiate, and are disappointed that we do not *Piu si muove!*

THE WILDERNESS OF JERUSALEM.

By D. J. CHITTY.

*(The Reverend D. J. Chitty has been engaged during the last two or three years in excavation and research work among the ancient monasteries of Judæa, under the auspices of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem.)*¹

FROM the mountain-ridge of the cities (Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron) there is an average drop eastwards of some 4,000 feet in a distance of fourteen miles to the shores of the Dead

¹ In particular he has uncovered the Church and Tomb-Chapel of St. Euthymius. The Service of which we give a photograph must have been the first held in the Church since the destruction of the Monastery in the 13th century. The ruin, including the Saint's tomb in which his body may still be lying, is at present in the possession of the Moslem village of Silwan, and it is an urgent need that funds should be forthcoming to restore so notable a shrine to the Orthodox Church. The roof of the Tomb-Chapel remains whole and it would not be difficult to make it once more fit for Christian worship.

Sea. The same is desert. For a few miles there is some scant pasture, and even cultivation. But this cannot greatly mitigate the general effect of the bare beyond. Practically waterless, save for scattered cisterns, it looks up to the east of the cities with the threat of a jealous God. And year by year, when harvest is over, it creeps up to envelop the cities themselves with a taste of itself, when their heavens become indeed as iron and their earth as brass.

Such is the strange monotony of desolation which confronts the passing stranger coming from green countries as he stands on the Mount of Olives and looks away beyond Bethany. And the effect is not lessened by the hasty drive through fantastic hills and valleys down to Jordan : it is as if he had wandered unwitting on to the scarred surface of the moon.

Further experience does not belie this impression. But gradually each hill and valley takes on an individual character. Gradually in the scenes of most barren destruction we slacken our pace to watch among the rocks innumerable unnoticed tiny flowers of every colour. And was it not this Wilderness of Judæa in which David lived as shepherd-boy or outlaw ? On these sweet ridges he stood singing :—

“ Who is a Rock beside our God ?
The God that girdeth me with strength,
And maketh my way perfect.
He maketh my feet like hinds' feet
And setteth me upon my high places.”

Was it not gazing down across the Wilderness from the villages, Tekoa or Anathoth, that border it, that Amos or Jeremiah learnt their prophetic message ? Here John preached, and here Our Lord was tempted. And here ever, would we but accept it and turn away from gazing westward upon the merchandise of the Sea, is the strength of God's People.

Flee from our Rock, and He is a jealous God . Accept Him, and He is the Friend.

“ And I will lay waste her vines and her fig-trees, whereof she hath said, These are my rewards that my lovers have given me : and I will make them a forest, and the beasts of the field shall eat them.

And I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim unto which she burned incense, when she decked herself with her earrings and her jewels and went after her lovers, and forgot Me, saith the LORD. Therefore, behold I will allure her, and bring her into the Wilderness, and speak to her heart.

And I will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a door of hope : and she shall make answer there as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt. And it shall be at that day,

saith the LORD, that thou shalt call Me Ishi, and shalt call Me no more Baali."

The monk and his Wilderness seem almost indistinguishable. The Western, paying a hurried visit to the scarecrows in their monastic eyries—MarSaba, Choziba, or the Mountain of the Temptation—regards them with an antiquarian interest or an eye for the spectacular, and forgets their manhood. If he should chance to find that this priest was once a grocer in New York, or that monk a stoker for some twelve years on English ships, it serves but to heighten the grotesqueness of his picture of this "relic of a faded past." But the monk, at home in his Wilderness, has forgotten to be conscious of the spectacular in his way of life, if indeed he ever realized it. Rather, he is on a rock from which the fleeting world outside has seen itself to be strange and grotesque. He has outlived many cultures, and he will outlive another. *Reality* for him is learnt in the Liturgy, and the slow movement of the nightly office from midnight to the dawn. In his soul and body he is on bed-rock. Lean your hand on his, and its bones will crack. Like his desert, he has nought but the bare necessity of skin and bone. But over his lips and over his life the sunlight can play with strange, gentle beauty. If the birds of St. Saba will perch on his hand, and wild beasts gather to receive food at his monastery, these are not the only flowers of full humanity that blossom in the crannies of his rockiness. It was not inappropriate that, thirteen centuries ago, the anthologist of this desert, John Moschus, named his book "A Spiritual Meadow."

One mountain, Jebal Muntar, dominates the Wilderness between Olivet and the Dead Sea. The latter is seen from here unbroken in its full length. And on a clear spring day the snows of Hermon in the far north block the head of the Ghôr. Eastward the jungle of the Jordan marks the place of the Baptism. Westward from here as from so many of our desert hill-tops, the cities of the Nativity and of the Passion, the mountain of the Ascension, are seen rimming the sky-line. To the south, stretching away beyond sight, is the Utter Desert. So the Realism of History and the Realism of the Eternal meet together.

The great places of our monastic history are all about us. To this mountain itself an empress came to be restored to Orthodoxy by Euthymius the Great. And it was from here that a few years later (478 A.D.) an angel pointed out to Saba that gorge of Cedron which was to be his home—there, where two miles away below us, a pair of towers mark the one monastery which has kept the thread of its life unbroken, though at times worn very thin, from that day to this.

It is this double Realism which constitutes the uniqueness and centrality of the Judean Wilderness. The Call of the Holy Places



1. The Mount of Temptation, with Monastery Farm in foreground.



2. The Monastery of Choziba.



3. Archbishop Anastassy conducting a service in the Sanctuary of the Church of St. Euthymius at the conclusion of the excavation, July 29th, 1928.

and the Ascetic Call come here together, correcting and fulfilling each other. Egypt and Syria may startle the world for a moment, then wander off into their own heretical theories. But that inescapable mountain horizon keeps the eyes of the Judæan monk fixed above theories upon the stark historical fact. And if such a Realism, wherein Doctrine and Worship are one in an all-pervading Reality ("We worship what we know"), is the distinguishing mark of Orthodoxy, our Wilderness has had its part, under God, in revealing and preserving this.

Watching from Muntar we see again the monastic history slowly framing itself out of the silence of the early centuries. Even before Egyptian monasticism became the wonder of the world, the Church of the Holy City was preparing, quietly drinking in the lesson of her own desert. And here and there someone, like the great Bishop Narcissus, would unobtrusively disappear into it. Late in the third century, men fleeing from persecution found in the jungle of palms and bamboo-reed west of Jordan a refuge and a training ground (*ἱσκητήριον*), and there would be those among them who, having tasted of this life, would never leave it, knowing that the Church at peace might have even greater need than the Church persecuted of such a training-ground. Here in the Plain will be scattered hermits whose relation to each other is accidental. In the mountains another type of hermit life begins, as disciples are attracted about the beginning of the fourth century to the fame of the confessor-pilgrim from Iconium, Chariton, and pursue him from haunt to haunt, leaving three rough hermit-assemblages (*lauras*) at 'Ain Fara, on the Mountain of the Temptation, and at Souka (the Old Laura) east of Tekoa. All these are cliff lauras, and do not venture too far out from civilization.

A new stage begins when Euthymius, in 411 A.D., setting out from Fara for the Utter Desert, founds his first monastery in the Wady Mukelik, the deep ravine that breaks through the mountain belt into the Utter Desert, some four miles to our north-east. This is the stage when our monasticism begins to take independent shape under two great leaders, Euthymius (died 473 A.D.) in the mountains, and Gerasimus (died 475 A.D.) in the Jordan Plain. Euthymius is one of those mighty personalities who wields control over the affairs of men just because his desire for solitude makes him independent of them. In his own person he sums up and sets the type for all that Judæan Monasticism is to be. Converting a bedouin tribe, sending out and controlling bishops (he killed with the power of his displeasure one who had taken the wrong side at the Robber Council), leaving his monastery to make the Utter Desert a fortress of the Faith in the troubled times after Chalcedon, then returning to give substance to the restoration of the Orthodoxy he had defended.

On a little plain four miles to our north are the ruins of Khan el Ahmar, the remains of the Coenobium which after his death replaced his Laura. With the establishment of the latter the framework of his system was complete—the Coenobium in Mukelik as a novitiate, the Laura for the tried hermit. The latter was the real centre. And its hermits were no haphazard assemblage. They were bound to their abbot by a bond of obedience sternly enforced. Untimely individual eccentricities of ascetic rigour were repressed. The great strengthening practice of spending Lent (from the Octave of Epiphany to Palm Sunday) in the Utter Desert was introduced, for the stronger hermits, by Euthymius from his home-country. It helped to independence of the cities, and even in necessity of the monasteries themselves. Meanwhile it kept alive before all the hermit ideal, and was (especially under Saba) a great incentive to expansion, as one Lenten hiding-place after another would seem to invite a monastery. We must notice here that it is to Asia Minor more than to Egypt that Judæan Monasticism looks for its origins. St. Gregory, the Theologian, and St. Basil are the most constantly quoted fathers, St. Chariton had come from Iconium and St. Euthymius and the three other key-figures were all natives of Asia Minor (himself from Melitene, Gerasimus from Lycia, Saba and Theodosius from Cappadocia).

Gerasimus comes into the field somewhat later than Euthymius, about the time of Chalcedon. He is of a simpler type, and himself needed to be restored to Orthodoxy after Chalcedon by Euthymius in his desert retreat. His system was better suited to the more individualistic character of the Jordan hermits. A group of some seventy of these were knit together in a Laura with a Coenobium for novitiate. But the Coenobium itself was the only centre of the Laura, and to it the hermits came for the Liturgy and something more like a meal than they had during the week, on Saturdays and Sundays. But it was the character of Gerasimus for which he was most remembered. It is seen in the strictness and simplicity of his rule for hermits, with its complete abandonment of the very idea of individual ownership, or anything which might separate the hermit from the natural world about him. His lion (which St. Jerome filched from him in the West in the later Middle Ages) is another example of that concord with Nature which Saba and Cyriac (both of whom also had lion friends) learnt no doubt chiefly from him.

When Timothy the Cat usurped the throne of St. Mark in 457 A.D., Orthodox monks from the Egyptian deserts took refuge in Palestine. Two of them, Martyrius (478-86 A.D.) and Elias (494-518 A.D.), were to become Patriarchs of Jerusalem. In the same year the boy Saba came from Cappadocia. So the next stage comes to its apprenticeship, and learns for nearly two decades from the old masters. In it Saba with his almost shy humility was to

spread the ideal of the stern Euthymius in a vast army of monks up and down the Wilderness, with their spear-point the hermit thrust forward into regions of Utter Desert beyond the reach of ordinary monastic life. Several of his lesser foundations are within sight, on Muntar itself and around its feet. The towers of his Great Laura are beside the Cedron gorge below us. On a hill-top three miles west of it, now once again inhabited by Greek monks after long desolation, the other great figure of this stage, Theodosius, founded a very different type of monastery. Desiring solitude and still sought out by men in his Cave of the Magi there, he went out swinging an unlighted censer down through the Utter Desert, praying that God would show him a place for a monastery. Only when he returned to his hill-top cave did the incense light up, and he knew what was decreed for him. Himself continuing an extreme ascetic, he founded a coenobium full of good works, with workshops more of the Pachomian type, hospitals, a home for worn-out monks, and an asylum for those who in unguarded asceticism had become possessed. On these last his gentleness bestowed special care and love.

Such a coenobium was a necessary counterpart to the hermits, completing the organism of the Judæan Wilderness. With Saba and Theodosius the general oversight of the monasteries is handed down from the City to the Wilderness itself, St. Saba being placed at the head of the lauras, and St. Theodosius at the head of the coenobia. With their hostels in Jerusalem, the hostels and gardens at Jericho, the organization of the monasteries is now perfected. They are ready for the great rôle which is falling upon them—it is now that our Wilderness replaces heretical Egypt at the head of Orthodox Monasticism.

The manner in which this was brought about is very significant for the whole subsequent history of Orthodoxy. The first disciples joined St. Saba (in 483 A.D.) just when the Henotikon of Zeno was being proclaimed by Martyrius. That body of Orthodox Monasticism which in the last years of the Henotikon was successfully to defy the might of the Emperor Anastasius for the sake of Chalcedon, was built up in the very years when Chalcedon received no imperial support, and a heavy slur was cast upon it in a document tolerated by the church. One great monk at least, Marcian of Bethlehem, who became bound in a clear bond of unity with our monks, and in fact for a short time before his death in 494 A.D. was their official head, was only brought into the Communion of the Church by the Henotikon. Yet, at least in Palestine, he was honoured as a saint by Orthodox monks long after the Henotikon had been finally rejected. So the Orthodoxy of our monks was no narrow one. The strength of their defence of Chalcedon lay partly in the fact that many of them had been at first in no hurry at all to accept it. It was a balanced Orthodoxy,

not leaning on imperial power. At the same time the great letter of the monks to Anastasius combines a readiness to resist unto blood in case of need (which they proved to be no idle words) with the conciliatory tone of a true Orthodoxy. There is none of the narrowness or fanaticism of a merely local resistance. Judæan Orthodoxy was essentially international. If in the larger monasteries the cosmopolitan Greek language preponderated, it asserted no monopoly. Each minority would have its own Church in which it celebrated the Liturgy of the Catechumens in its own language, while all would assemble in the central Church for the Liturgy of the Faithful in Greek. So Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Bessic—and who knows how many other tongues?—might be found side by side in liturgical use in a single monastery. The Patriarch Elias, who died in exile for the Faith ten days after Anastasius himself (July 20th,¹ 518 A.D.) was no Greek, but an Arabian who had spent his youth in the Nitrian Desert. It is quite untrue to the facts to represent this Orthodoxy as a mere imperial nationalism alongside of the local nationalisms of Egypt and Syria.

Also it was no merely doctrinal conviction which gave body to their defence. How could it be with that mountain ridge above them? Those monks who had stood out so firmly for Chalcedon under Anastasius, were equally ready under Justin to resist any kind of admission, at Rome's behest, that, cut off from Rome under the Henotikon, Holy Sion, the Mother of all Churches had been cut off from the True Church. Their consciousness of Orthodoxy was the consciousness of the Body of Christ.

[To be continued.]

RELIGION AND THE SOVIETS.

By DR. C. A. MANNING.

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I

IT is extremely difficult to present to-day a survey of religious conditions in the Union of Soviet Republics which will be even approximately accurate. The problem is too complicated, the amount of divergence in different regions is too great, and above all the conditions at the beginning of the turmoil are too misunderstood for us to solve the riddle that is presented to us and if a correct answer were given, it would be expressed in terms so alien to our thought that we would be as far from comprehending it as ever.

¹ Thus providing a date for the Orthodox feast of the prophet Elias whose name he bore.

It is painfully simple to list the noble army of martyrs who have died for the Faith during the last decade and to condemn roundly thereby the entire system which prevails at present. It is equally simple to blacken the Church as it existed under the Tsars and to assume that now conditions are very much better and that all will soon be well. People who go to Moscow see the churches open and decide that the stories of persecution are false. They see that order reigns and that they were mistaken in their ideas of chaos. Many of the admirers have gone, as did Bertrand Russell, and become convinced that they have been mistaken also.

The present article, therefore, does not aim at giving a detailed explanation of the situation but rather at indicating certain definite tendencies and motives which have played a large rôle in the situation and which are yet active. It will strive to present certain alternatives which must be considered in view of the curious situation which is prevailing to-day.

Any consideration of the Soviets and Christianity must take into account one question. Granted that the ruling power in the land is atheistic, granted the crimes of which it is charged, what next? The civilized world and the Christian world have declined definitely to liberate Russia by force of arms. The Soviet government was able in the years after the War to defeat and destroy the White movement. Opinions may differ as to the cause of this success, but it seems simplest to explain it in accordance with the laws of military science. The White armies were acting from the borders of the country against a foe which was established in the centre. They were compelled to undergo the careful scrutiny of foreigners, to have regard for a complicated ideology which suited the civilized powers. Military exigencies and strategy were subordinated again and again to the Western conceptions of democracy, of liberty, and of politics. The Soviets fighting against the Russian and Allied forces were able to achieve a unity of command, a ruthlessness of purpose and a sense of realism which none of their opponents could fail to envy. By all the laws of military science, they could not fail to win under the given situation.

That fact must be considered, when we look at the religious conditions of the country. There are not wanting Christians in Europe and America who even to-day condemn any tendency of the Church to deal with the Soviet government as apostasy and sin. They are entitled to this opinion but on one condition—that the Churches abroad will cease immediately their chatter for peace and will preach a holy crusade for the benefit of the Church of Russia. It is manifestly absurd to sit comfortably at home and demand that a Church under persecution adopt an attitude which they themselves in their own life are regarding as sinful and reactionary and are refusing to aid.

From the beginning the Patriarch Tikhon placed the struggle

entirely on a spiritual basis. Had he escaped to the army, and there raised the standard of the cross, he might have turned the scale against the forces of the Communists. He might have repeated what the Patriarch Hermogen did in the seventeenth century in saving Moscow from the Poles, but had he succeeded, what then? Would he have been allowed, if victorious in 1918, to set up a new dynasty or restore the old? The Western world would have forced on a disordered country something similar to the Provisional Government which had already finished its brief and possible course. It would have given Russia democracy, as it understood it. Had he failed, the Church would have been so entangled with counter-revolution and would have been rightly so discredited, that Christianity in Russia would have been impossible.

We must remember also that Russian culture was based not on Rome but on Constantinople. It is impossible in a phrase to sum up the difference in culture, but the following may be hazarded. With the fall of Rome the way was open for the Bishop of Rome and the Patriarch of the West to take over the political and cultural functions of the government. There was no force which could educate and teach save the Church. In the East the imperial authority still continued and was itself responsible for the maintenance of order and of community life. The Church in the East never was able to escape from under the wing of the Emperor who for his part tended to secure certain religious functions for himself.

As a result of this Eastern thought never passed through the struggle between king and Pope as in the West, and there was no strict parallel to the Protestant Reformation and the Western development of nationalism. In the East there was consistently a different intellectual and spiritual content in the struggles, and the difference appears most sharply when we attempt now to bring together and compare the two systems. It was only after the reign of Peter the Great that we find a definite attempt to fasten on Russian life the theories of the West and the result was the breakdown of the composite mass of the State.

One direct result of all this was the fact that there was no international body able to support Tikhon from the first days of the struggle, for Western Christianity was too indifferent or indolent to demand the respecting of the Church from the beginning. The Archbishop of Canterbury issued an appeal for the protection of Tikhon and other members of the Church, but there was no material force available to be used for the Church. More than that, many of the Western leaders as Bishop Blake of the Methodist Church in the United States and some of the Baptist groups, saw in the collapse of the Orthodox Church an opportunity that might never come again. In certain quarters the Roman

Catholic Church was not sorry to see Russia's failure to liberate Constantinople and bring back the glory of the past. As a matter of fact, therefore, the Church of Russia was left alone to face a storm, the scope of which no one could foresee. The Patriarch, newly elected to office, with the new Synod and new conditions, was left alone to battle with the movement which was entirely new and hostile.

The Russian bishops who were in favour of uniting the cause of the Church to the old order or the cause of democracy joined with the White Armies and later gathered under the Metropolitan Antony at Karlovci in Yugo-Slavia. We are not here concerned with the actions of this group. It is possible that they were right. Perhaps the Metropolitan Platon in New York and Bishop Evlogie in Paris were right in desiring a more liberal Russia. They did not and could not affect the situation in Moscow, unless to add further complications and give the impression that the Church was counter-revolutionary. In the last decade we must draw a sharp line between the two groups. Russian literature has developed in the emigration and at home. Russian religion has developed in the emigration and at home. Russian social problems have developed in the emigration and at home. The differences between the two groups are growing more and more and as yet no effective reconciliation is in sight.

Furthermore the Church at home was surrounded by hosts of enemies. There were the Old Believers of various groups and classes which believed that the official Church had gone too far in the seventeenth century in supporting Western ways. They had fought the subjugation of Church to State in the name of Russian mediævalism and they had their own supporters among the peasantry and in intellectual circles, and especially among some of the older merchant families. There were also the groups of fanatics and mystics, of whom Rasputin was a striking example, which represented an attempt to find an incarnate Christ at the present day. There was a large Baptist movement in some sections and a considerable number of free Christians who tried to organize their life on the Gospel principles without regard to State or Church.

Thus the Orthodox Church was faced with the necessity of reforming itself, of rousing an unwieldy organization after two centuries of inertia, and at the same time of defending itself both against religious bodies of a different character and also against an aggressive atheistic communism which in its intensity and its vigour had all the earmarks of a religion. Since the death of Lenin it has even become possible to speak of a cult or religion of Lenin, strange as such a conception seems to us, but we must never forget the rôle of Mohammed in the Arab world and we must avoid the idea that we have solved anything by the use of invective or epithets.

II

The new government lost no time in declaring religion out of bounds. There is little profit or edification in describing the horrors of the persecution which ensued, of the methods of torture and of punishment that were invoked. Suffice it to say, that the Russian hierarchy died in large numbers as martyrs and no man of equal importance or prominence appeared as did the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Paris in the French Revolution to lay down the symbols of his office and declare that the power which he had been exercising was falsely taken from the people. Neither did Christianity in Russia try to maintain itself by denying its own past and there is not the gulf to-day that separated the French pre-Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary hierarchy. That is one thing of which the Russian Church can be proud.

In theory it is very simple to separate religion and government. In practice the problem is more complex, as a few writers have hinted in connection with disestablishment in England. Here in America, we have what we call the separation of Church and State, but we accept as the basis of life what passes in the popular mind for Christian ethics. It involves monogamy with some theory of unlimited divorce, and a conventional regard for an unliteral interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount with other contradictions, but it does acknowledge with indifferent agnosticism the value of the spiritual. We are still living on the residue of a Christian philosophy and yet there are many complicated questions which we avoid settling.

The Soviet Government in theory merely denied religion and all of its by-products. It denied practically all rights to the clergy and treated them as pariahs. The teaching of Christianity on sexual morals meant no more than the opinion of St. Paul on the return of Christ. On the basis of the hypothesis that Karl Marx and Lenin had compiled a new and better system they threw ruthlessly into the melting pot all the theories of life and the spiritual nature of man, and attacked logically and coldly the task of building up a new system of life.

This in itself forced the Church to answer one very unpleasant question—how much of what passes for Christian ethics is Christian? How much is based on primitive paganism? How far can the Church go in adapting itself to a new system of life? In so far as the new system declared that religion was the opium of the people and disregarded spiritual values, there could be no compromise and the Orthodox Church never wavered in its position. There are many points, however, that were not so clear and confusion had to reign.

We can then discover three points of view: the atheistic view of the government, the attitude of the peasantry who were attached to the ritual forms of the old order, even if they denounced the

abuses of the clergy, and the attitude of those persons who sought to combine the new order and the old. Some of these were actuated with the idea that the new system was permanent, though it might be modified. Others felt that it was their duty merely to bend their head until the storm passed and the old civilization appeared once more with the downfall of the Soviets.

We must also add that the Orthodox Church, unlike the Churches of the West, knows the meaning of subjugation to a non-Christian ruler. It was only a few years ago that the bishops of the Balkans were chosen by the Moslem overlords, and there is not yet possible a free election of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Russia, too, remembers the days of the Mongol Empire, when many of the leaders of the nation, secular and ecclesiastical, saw themselves forced to bow to the non-Christian khans. Some, as St. Alexander Nevsky, submitted to save their people; others as Michael of Chernigov refused to submit and paid the penalty for their refusal. Thus there was good precedent for the two attitudes which the Church could assume and it can be shown that both active and passive resistance was clearly within the bounds of the Orthodox psychology.

In the beginning the Soviet leaders did not realize the hold which the Church had upon the people and did not see the extent of change which would be necessary to root out the code and the philosophy against which they were fighting. They supposed that the mere closing of the churches and the execution of some of the clergy would be enough to prevent any further manifestations of the religious spirit, and they endeavoured by a campaign of open disrespect for religion to rouse the peasantry to join them. They did rouse them, but not as they expected, and a steady revival of interest in the Church followed, especially among many of the intellectuals who had previously scorned it. The persecution definitely failed in its first stages.

Taught by experience that the cruder methods of persecution were not effective, the Soviet leaders sought elsewhere. They had endeavoured to publish crude and blasphemous periodicals in support of atheism. They had tried to discredit the Church in the minds of the ignorant by opening the coffins of the saints and showing that in many cases the bodies had decayed. (Russian popular religion believed that the bodies of the saints were preserved intact, and in the seventeenth century the bishops of the Church had used this belief in their struggles with the Old Believers). Nothing helped and there was still an active religious interest.

They turned next to the process of internal disintegration. Every one agrees that the Orthodox Church needs an internal reformation. Hardly one of the national Orthodox Churches has failed to express its appreciation of this fact. If the Church of England is interested

in improving a prayer book which has only been in use two hundred and fifty years, we can see how the ritual of the Eastern Churches, that took shape sixteen hundred years ago, needs a considerable amount of revision to fit it for effective work to-day. Let us face the problem clearly. It is not a case of dogmatic reform. The questions involve the shortening of the service, the recognition of modern customs, the methods of choosing bishops, etc. Not one serious point of the Faith is in dispute. The problem is the effective method of handling this without falling into Latinism or Protestantism. It is a serious but not an insoluble problem, if only the Church could consider it coolly and calmly.

(To be concluded.)

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE EASTERN CHURCH IN THE WESTERN WORLD.

By W. C. EMHARDT, PH.D., T. BURGESS, D.D.,
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American Division.

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A. R. Mowbray & Co., London. 6/6.

THE joint authors explain that this book is not intended for scholars and experts but for "the man in the street." An excellent description is given of the faith, worship, history and missionary activities of the Christian Churches of the East, and an account of the policy and methods of approach adopted by the American Episcopal Church. The Episcopal Church has been given an exceptional opportunity of getting to know and co-operating with these ancient Churches as most of them are represented in America.

The writers suggest that most Americans are likely to think that the most that can be hoped for as regards re-union is a sort of Pan-Protestantism, opposed by the Roman Catholic Church, forgetting all about the Eastern Orthodox Church, which is neither Protestant nor Roman, and considers Romanism and Protestantism different aspects of the same original heresy.

We are reminded that although Christianity is a universal religion its origin is Oriental. The authors remark, "Some people seem to think that real Christianity was discovered in the sixteenth century by some German, or some Swiss, or an Englishman!"

The Eastern Orthodox Church is really the "Mother of all Churches." While conscious of many shortcomings, it has never felt the necessity of claiming, (as other Churches claim) to have

"returned to primitive Christianity " because it is not aware of ever having deviated from it. They never were Roman and have never become Protestant and are essentially what they were in the first stages of Christianity's existence. In comparing the Orthodox Church with the Roman Catholic, our authorities are tempted to indulge in some rather cheap scoring off the latter. The Roman Church cannot claim the title of Mother of all Churches, on the contrary, she has proved herself to be, at least in some parts of the world, "a step-mother who has ruled her children not wisely but too well." The Eastern Church has not hesitated to define dogma when scripture makes definition possible. "Rome, on the other hand, seems to be characterized by a flair for definitions and quantitative measurements. A theological calculus might be developed from the history of merits, indulgences, quarantines and other things. The exact effect on God which is produced by one hundred 'Our Fathers' would seem to have been appraised." Neither can Protestantism claim the title of "Mother of all Churches," as at least in some of its manifestations "it bears a rather strong resemblance to a painted-to-order ancestor!"

After some description of the Orthodox doctrinal position, its Churches and its worship, we are given a useful summary of the historical contact of Orthodoxy with the American Church.

In 1828 the Episcopal Church appointed its first foreign missionaries for the help and encouragement of the Churches of the Near East and founded the Hill School for Girls at Athens. In 1836 the congregation at Old St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, guaranteed the expenses of a three-year mission under the Board of Missions, not to win converts but to study the life and history of the people and to express their sympathy by co-operation. At the same time agents came from the Church of England to express the same message.

In 1842 the Episcopal Church established its first foreign Episcopate and sent one bishop to China and another to Constantinople.

The Eastern Churches in America are then considered in detail. The facts and statistics here given form a valuable part of this book. There are two million members of these of various nationalities, Russians, Greeks, Syrians, Roumanians, Serbians, Albanians and Bulgarians. There are also other Eastern Christians, the Uniats under Rome, mostly Ruthenians; and Armenians and Members of the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches. The Russian Orthodox Church has a million communicants and three hundred parishes scattered throughout the United States, Alaska, Canada, and the Aleutian Islands.

The Greek Church has from three hundred thousand to half a million members.

The Assyrians are few in number, ten thousand would be a large estimate.

The Uniats, mostly Ruthenians, form a most difficult problem. They came to a country where the Roman Catholics know only the Latin rite and the celibate priesthood. After being repulsed by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of America, their priests for several years continued their work, but their people gradually placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church thinking that their natural allegiance lay in that direction. To meet them for a time the Papacy overruled the decision of the American Bishops and sent a bishop to them. The climax in the affairs of the Russian Church made it undesirable for them to try and approach the Russian Archbishop. Finally, they approached the Episcopal Church, but its policy has always been not to offer inducements for people to leave another Communion and join their own. Eventually the Roman Catholic Church appointed two other Bishops for these Uniats. But these people are leaving in groups and establishing their own congregations, some of which are under Bishops whose orders are questionable or at least irregular.

The ecclesiastical approach to the Eastern Churches in America has gone through the following well-defined stages. First of all, joint services which awakened interest; secondly, conferences which resulted in a more perfect understanding; and, lastly, co-operation.

As regards co-operation, Episcopal Churches are lent to visiting priests of the Eastern Churches in all parts of the country. Often Eastern Clergy put their people in the care of priests of the Episcopal Church until they return, as there are not enough priests of their own to minister to all their people. The policy of the Episcopal Church is to keep them loyal to their own faith and not to make Episcopalians out of them. At Ellis Island, at the request of the Bishops of the Eastern Church, the representatives of the Episcopal Church have made themselves responsible for the care of immigrants of the Eastern Church.

Another way by which Americans have been drawn nearer to the Eastern Churches is through the visits of distinguished foreign Prelates. In 1919 Platon, the first Russian Archbishop of America, then Metropolitan of Odessa and Kherson; Archbishop Nikolai from Serbia; and Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, later Patriarch of Constantinople, and now Patriarch of Alexandria.

The effect of the revolution on the Russian Orthodox Church in America is then considered. During the war it had been cut off from its annual subsidy from Russia, and after the imprisonment of the Patriarch Tikhon, the well-known Sobor, which was convened without his canonical consent consecrated John Kedrovsky as Archbishop for America. His career did not seem to have marked him out for spiritual leadership. In addition, he is a married man, and, therefore, in accordance with the practice of the Orthodox Church, cannot become a bishop. The matter was taken to the

Courts. The Lower Court gave a decision favourable to the Metropolitan Platon, which was appealed from. In April, 1926, the Higher Courts of New York reversed the decision of the Lower Court. This only covers New York and is not accepted by any other State. The Cathedral was then taken over by Kedrovsky, and Platon was removed, to the great sorrow of all Russians and of his many American friends. So far as the writers know, only one church of the three hundred parishes have in any way supported the Bolshevik Archbishop.

The National Council of the Episcopal Church in 1928 passed a resolution that it regretted the decision of the Courts of Appeal of the State of New York, and, expressing their sympathy, suggested that in the event of an effort to remove any parishes in the several dioceses from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Platon, advice should be sought from the presiding Bishop.

The Russians themselves organized, with the help of a former layman of the Episcopal Church, the Russian Church Assistance Fund. Trinity Parish, of New York, invited the Russians to use St. Augustine's Chapel for their services, dividing it into two parts. The larger is used as the Russian Cathedral, and the smaller, with the original chancel, contains the Episcopal Church, where the small congregation still worships. The Corporation of Trinity Parish voted 30,000 dollars for this purpose and a further 2,500 dollars a year for the residence of the Metropolitan, and are renting the church to the Russians for one dollar a year.

The activities of the Episcopal Church with regard to Missions in the East are then described. American charity organizations in the early days had done nothing to stabilize the religious conditions of the Near East. They thought that the old churches should be guided and re-directed on lines that belong to the Protestant tradition. In time these churches, while thanking their friends for coming to their aid, said they could not follow where they were trying to lead. Then came the establishment of the so-called Protestant Missions in the Near East.

As these were unable to make converts from the Moslems, they tried to win converts from the Eastern Churches. Large sums of money were spent, and after eighty or ninety years there are split congregations. These Eastern Protestants number only a few thousands and feel that they are a class by themselves, "individually sought out by the Providence of God or by the canniness of the American nation," and, therefore, are inclined to be of an inferior type.

Since the Great War, Missions have been regarded in an entirely different light. The great religious leaders have at last decided that the vital religious force is not to be found in the Protestant Mission, but in the ancient Apostolic Churches.

In 1921 the Episcopal National Council passed a resolution that

the term Missions denoted not only the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen, or church extension in their own land, but co-operation with weaker sister churches, especially those of the Near East.

The book concludes by comparing the several branches of the Catholic Church in their endeavour to save souls, with the fishermen described in the parable of the miraculous draught of fishes. "St. Peter has been accepted as the disciple of Western Christianity. It is the Petrine principle that has moulded our Western life, both Protestant and Catholic. He is prompt, impetuous, successful, and to a degree effective—but not quite. He needs the aid of his partners of other temperaments. The quieter, calmer, yet more resourceful efforts of his partners, who with equal justice have been accepted as the exemplars of the East, are needed. The product of the contemplative life as seen in St. James and St. John must be linked with the fiery zeal of St. Peter, if the immediate task is to be accomplished. So it is in our efforts to effect the best for mankind. For some ten centuries we have followed the method of St. Peter, yet neither the world's perfection nor mankind's redemption has become an established fact. Has the time not come when we should question the efficiency of our chosen method and heed the experience of those of other training and bespeak their aid? Then, doubtless, by our united efforts we may draw our net safely to land and place it at the Master's feet."

The book has some good illustrations, which include the new Serbian Orthodox Church at Libertyville, Illinois, the Russian Cathedral, Sitka, Alaska, erected in 1850; the Greek Bishops; and the new Russian Cathedral in New York, this being the nave of the Episcopal Church made over by Trinity Parish to the Russians in their time of need.

C. F. L. ST. G.

THE CHURCH OF ABYSSINIA.

By DR. H. M. HYATT.

Luzac and Co. 8/6.

In our own day few travellers visit Abyssinia, yet just before and during the Victorian era, many missionaries and explorers found their way thither, who have given us a record of their labours in not a few books. The bibliography of Abyssinia is very large, but the books, in our own language, which deal with the Abyssinian Church are few. The present work is not a history of Christianity in Abyssinia, but deals with the life and institutions of the Abyssinian Church. It is well done by one who has not lived in the country, and the writer has given us an interesting and accurate account from his wide reading.

Abyssinia is a vast country with an area of about 350,000 square miles, situated in the middle of East Africa, with a population of about ten millions, people of various races. It is ruled by the Negus, whose full title is "The Lion of the tribe of Judah, King of Ethiopia." He claims descent from King Solomon by the Queen of Sheba; in Ethiopic legend this lady's name is Makeda.

The name Abyssinia is derived from Arabic *habash*, mixture, confusion; it was Latinized by the Portuguese into Abassia and hence the present name. The people call themselves "Ityopyavan," i.e., Ethiopians. Ethiopia and Abyssinia are practically convertible terms. The inhabitants of this vast country consist of three races: (1) The aborigenes (Shangala) who are African negroes; these people are for the most part animists. (2) The Hamitic or Cushite tribes who entered Abyssinia at a remote period of which there is no record. They are allied to the ancient Egyptians and use a language of that family. In religion they are Polytheists. (3) The Abyssinians proper; these are Semites who invaded the country before the Christian era, probably from Arabia. They are the dominant race to-day and make the kingdom and the Church. Their language is Semitic, and what civilization Abyssinia possesses is due to this Semitic wave.

There are three principal languages of the country: Amharic, which is spoken in the south and centre; Tigrana, the language in the region of the old Aksumitic kingdom; and Tigre, spoken by the half-nomadic tribes to the north. Of these languages Amharic is the most important, being the speech of the court, the army and commerce. It is closely allied to Arabic, and the old form of this is Ge'ez, the classical language of their ancient literature and still used in all the services of the Church. It has cumbersome syllabic letters and is now (though not formerly) written from left to right.

Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia by Frumentius and Edesius. They reached the country by misadventure and were taken captives. King Ela-Alada being pleased with their demeanour made Edesius his cup-bearer and Frumentius his Chancellor. On the death of the king they became regents during the minority of his two infant sons. Later Frumentius travelled to Alexandria and discussed with Athanasius the possibility of converting the country. Athanasius was interested in the project and consecrated Frumentius first bishop of Abyssinia in A.D. 340. On his return to Aksum, Frumentius converted large numbers to the Faith. In this he was assisted by monks from Egypt who preached the Gospel to many tribes in both Abyssinia and Upper Egypt. In the 5th and 6th centuries monasticism was introduced by Coptic monks and many monasteries founded. Then it was that Christianity became the national religion.

From the beginning of the 7th to the end of the 15th century, practically nothing is known of the Abyssinian Church.

The writer tells us that "the historical basis of the legend of Prester John was Abyssinian." The legend has a long story, but the majority of accounts which have come down to us place Prester John in Central Asia. Its first source seems to be clearly the Nestorian Khan of Tenduch. It could, however, easily arise in Abyssinia, where the tradition prevails that, in the absence of the bishop, the king performed episcopal functions.

In the 16th century comes an important incident. The Portuguese came to Africa and made a treaty with the king, at the same time sending zealous missionaries to work there. Eventually a Uniat Church was formed in connection with the Holy See. This did not last for more than a century. It was not popular and a reaction came with a new king (Fasiladas, 1632—1667) who drove out the Jesuits and restored the dependence of his Church on the Coptic Patriarch. It was to these Portuguese missionaries, notably Alvarez and Bermudez, that we owe most of our knowledge of its church customs.

The Abyssinian Church has always been subject to the Coptic Patriarch. It was not autonomous but a quasi-province of the Coptic Church of Egypt, a relationship which has existed from the days of Frumentius with the exception of the period of the Portuguese influence. The chief ecclesiastic is called Abuna Salama, "Father of Peace," who is appointed and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch in Cairo. The Abuna is never a native of Abyssinia but always chosen from one of the Coptic monasteries. He is the Metropolitan and though appointed by the Coptic Patriarch is not otherwise under his immediate jurisdiction. He ordains priests and deacons, but is not permitted to consecrate his suffragans for fear he might appoint his successor.

There is a full account of the Liturgy, called the Keddase; it may be read in Brightman's *Eastern Liturgies*. The service is a translation of the Coptic rite with local variations. The Pro-Anaphora is unchanging and is ascribed to Basil of Antioch, but it appears to be a version of the Alexandrine St. Mark. There is a number of alternative Anaphoras, but the Anaphora of the "Twelve Apostles" is regarded as the standard form; the others are used on special days. During the Enarxis a long litany is said, taken from the "Testament of our Lord," which is an Ethiopic peculiarity and not found in the Coptic rite. The words of Institution are followed by the Epiklesis and the Lord's Prayer. There is a distinctive feature about the words of Institution. The words are: "Take eat, this bread is my body, which is broken for you for forgiveness of sins," instead of "This is my body."

The Abyssinian Church is Monophysite. But it has some

further peculiarities of its own which have distracted the Church for many years. Three schools of thought exist who have discussed, in the past, the nature of the hypostatic union and the birth of Christ. The normal Monophysite view now prevails.

A remarkable characteristic of the Abyssinian Church is its Judaism. Circumcision is practised, but that may be because it is common throughout the East and is still observed by many African tribes; they attach to it no religious importance. They keep Saturday holy as well as Sunday, and on both days celebrate the Liturgy and rest from servile work. They abstain from unclean meats, like the Nestorians, eating only of that which chews the cud and divides the hoof. But because of these things it must not be assumed that the Church of Abyssinia is not quite Christian. It is true to say that they are a backward race and have remnants of pagan superstition in their beliefs, but they have upheld the name of Christ in the midst of Moslem and pagan surroundings for many centuries. The Church of Abyssinia has long suffered from isolation and lack of education, and when these drawbacks are removed we may hope to see her taking a place in Christendom worthy of her Athanasian descent and no longer shy of Chalcedonian doctrine.

F.N.H.

Εγκολπιον Εκκληγοναζομένου.

(THE CHURCHGOER'S MANUAL.)

THIS useful little book is a good example of the many excellent manuals which the Orthodox Church provides for her children to assist them in their worship. The preface contains some admirable instructions on prayer—public and private—on the Liturgy as the centre of the Church's worship, and on Eucharistic doctrine. These are followed by a form of morning prayer for private use and by the office of Orthros (Matins) and the Liturgy. A note preceding the latter describes in the following words how the devout Christian should behave on entering the church. "Standing before the beautiful Gates, in front of the Holy Table, before the Throne of the Divine Majesty, he makes thrice the sign of the precious Cross, bowing his head three times. . . . adoring the pure Body and the precious Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ which are upon it in the holy Tabernacle. Next he venerates the holy Icons upon the Iconostasion. . . ." The Liturgy is provided with helpful explanatory notes. A calendar of the immovable Feasts of the year is next given with the proper hymns, prayers and

epistles and gospels. Then come selections from the Triodion and the Pentecostarion. Amongst the former is included the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified. The Great Entrance with the Pre-sanctified Holy Gifts is thus described in the rubric :—"Here, amidst deep silence, all falling to the ground and saying to themselves, 'Through the prayers of the Holy Fathers, O Lord have mercy upon us,' they (*i.e.*, the priest and deacon) come out through the North Door, the deacon carrying the candle and censer and the priest bearing the Holy Gifts upon his head and enter the sanctuary through the Beautiful Gates. After which we rise and make three prostrations." Having completed the cycle of the Church's year, the last part of the manual is devoted to various offices and prayers.

First we have the shorter form of Compline which the compiler designates as the evening prayer for adults—special prayers are given for children—and the two Offices of Our Lady, namely the Acathist Hymn and the two supplicatory Canons to the Mother of God. These are followed by prayers and thanksgivings for Holy Communion, prayers for use during the Liturgy, for various occasions and for the canonical Hours of the day. In addition some simple advice is given on the subject of Confession, under the heading of "Fifteen directions and counsels to be remembered on going to confession." From these we venture to transcribe the following :—

(1) Seek a confessor in whom you have perfect confidence that you may open the depths of your soul to him and conceal nothing whatsoever.

(3) Take care not to put off your confession on one pretext or another, for you do not know what may happen to-morrow.

(8) Say first of all that sin of which you are most ashamed.

(9) Do not try to justify yourself by throwing blame on others as Adam did on Eve and Eve on the serpent, but take all the blame on yourself.

(12) Receive the penance which the Confessor will give you obediently and humbly and fulfil it.

(15) Take care to confess frequently and to the same confessor. If you cannot go to confession frequently, at least you should go four times a year during the four fasts appointed by the Church. He who does not confess frequently or four times a year or at least once at Easter cuts himself off from union with the Holy Church and may God be merciful to him and bring him to repentance that he be not cut off entirely from the kingdom of Heaven.

The book bears the sanction of the Archbishop and Holy Synod of Athens and is dedicated by the compiler to the Great Archimandrite of the Greek Cathedral in London.

M.G.D.

JACOB'S LADDER.

Concerning Angels. By FATHER SERGIUS BULGAKOV. Paris, 1928. (*Russian.*)

All over the world books of a mystical character are being published in all languages. It is as though a restless desire to peep beyond the veil were disturbing the modern man's mind. Much too many writers and publishers, however, seek to find comfort or at any rate mental satisfaction in metaphysical, occult, theosophical mysticism; this was predicted by Vladimir Solovyov in his *Three Conversations* as early as the end of the XIX. century. The last book by Father Sergius Bulgakov, a well-known Russian theological writer, strikes one as all the more exceptional and refreshing. It radiates the light of truly Christian mysticism and of religious joy that springs from it. It is concerned with the conception of angels as contained in the Bible and in Patristic writings and reflects the wealth of the author's own spiritual experience. The world of angels is as real to him as it was to St. John Chrysostom who seems, in his sermons, to be listening to the tremor of angels' wings—and indeed as it was to most early Christian teachers. Father Sergius Bulgakov constantly reminds his readers that the reality of angels is actual but not material; there is an impassable gulf between visionaries of the type of Swedenborg and the Orthodox understanding of the angelic world. The chapter on "The nature of angels," begins as follows: "The whole angelic world is in immediate contact with mankind through guardian angels and it is in and through them that its essentially co-human character becomes evident. Even if angels be divided into different hierarchies, and the higher of them take no part in serving the human world directly, yet owing to their spiritual unity and the unity of the common task before them, the whole choir of angels may be said to participate in preserving our world and to be its collective guardian."

Throughout the book particular stress is laid upon the idea, worked out with great spiritual ardour, that angels play an important and intimate part in the life of individuals and of mankind as a whole. Father S. Bulgakov thinks that the Pagan, pre-Christian mind, was intuitively aware of the world being full of invisible powers, invisible beings. "Platonic ideas are in truth angels of the Word. Plato understood the necessity of basing things upon ideas, the earthly world upon the heavenly. By doing this he translated into the language of philosophy the truth revealed to Paganism—that all is full of gods. Through its elemental power of spiritual vision Paganism knew the heavenly basis of the cosmos, but in its blindness it identified angelic hosts

with gods or rather it identified gods or 'the sons of God' (Job 1, 6, 2, 1) with God Himself. The true and Christian meaning of Platonism can only be seen in the light of angelology."

Readers who are unacquainted with theology but whose mind has been stirred by religious questionings or by great sorrow will be particularly struck by the chapter about guardian angels. It glows with tender and comforting faith in the inexhaustible and loving help that angels give us. The book begins, indeed, by telling us of "Our heavenly Friend": "God who is Love has created man for love. The human heart wants to love and longs to be loved. Deprived of love and of loving, it suffers." Every man has bestowed upon him at birth the divine gift of love which finds the most complete realization through his heavenly Friend—his guardian angel. "Every human being has its roots in the heavenly world and discovers in it its counterpart, its friend; it sees itself reflected in that friend, and in loving him, it loves itself without any self-love. To ask whether every man has a guardian angel is like asking whether every man is human, has a human soul and contains the idea of human personality."

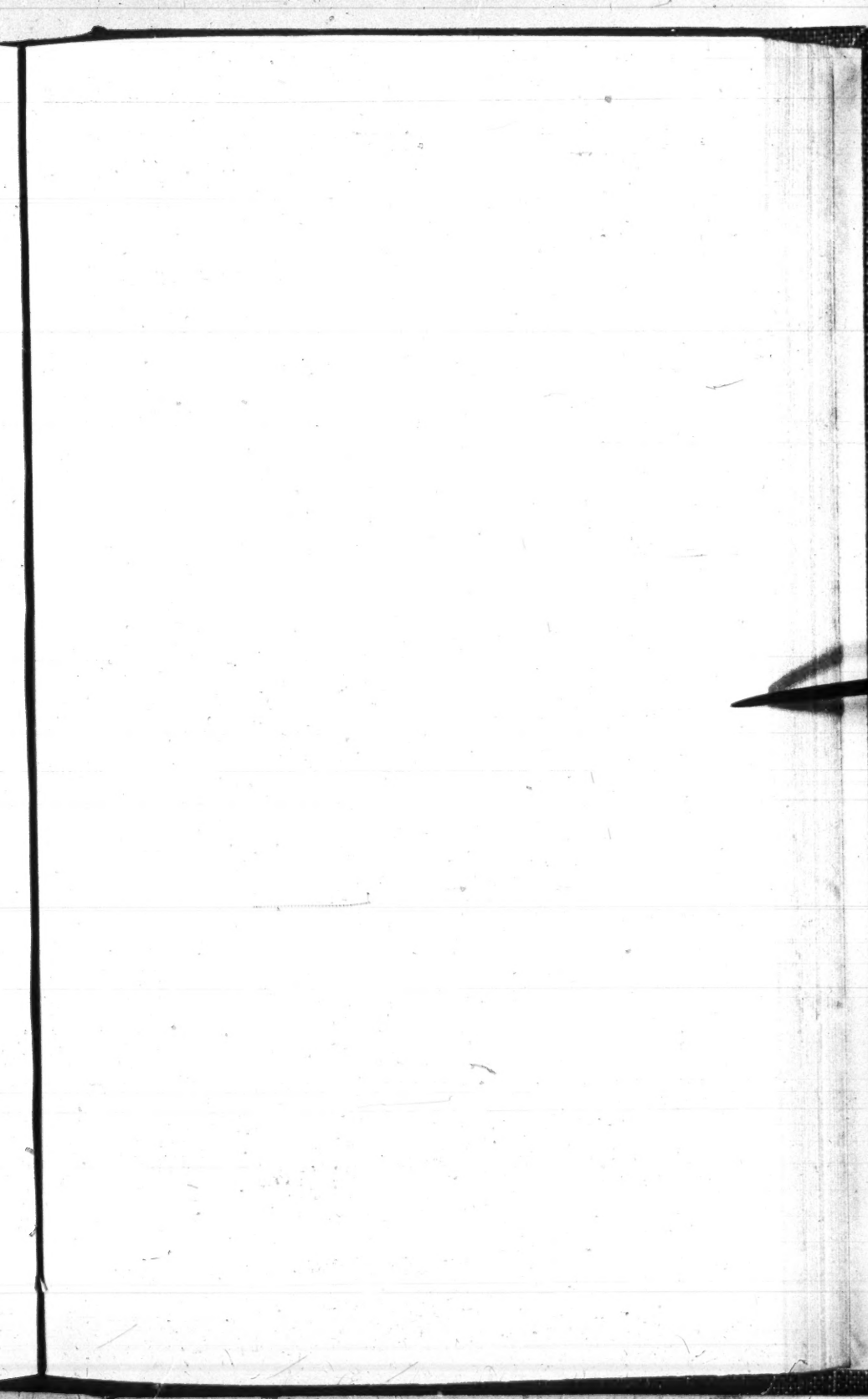
Guardian angels are not only the first rung of Jacob's ladder, not only the living bond between the two worlds—the human and the angelic—and unwearying perpetual mediators between God and us: they are also our friends. "A guardian angel loves the soul entrusted to him and that love is for him a personal love. Not only our salvation but his own life is in that love; as is the case with all love, it is vital and essential for him as well as for us."

In addition to two chapters on guardian angels there are chapters entitled "Angels in the life of the world," "The nature of angels," "Angelic life," "Theophany and angelophany," "Incorporeality of Angels," "The World of Angels and Incarnation."

It would be a good thing if this little book—it is not more than 30,000 words—could be published in English. It is written with masterly brevity and is permeated with joyous faith and a very real sense of perpetual contact with angels and, through them, with Him whom they serve and by whom they are sent. "The world is overshadowed by angels' wings. Holy angels constantly ascend and descend between heaven and earth. . . . Angels standing before the throne of God have a life in common with us, united to us by bonds of love."

It is just as though on a dark night, when earthly lights burn dimly, a window were suddenly opened into a vast sunlit expanse of another world, where friends full of wisdom and love await us.

A.W.





The most recent portrait of the late Ecumenical Patriarch
HIS ALL-HOLINESS BASIL III.

(Reproduced, by the courtesy of the Metropolitan of Thyatira,
from a photograph presented to him by the late Patriarch.)